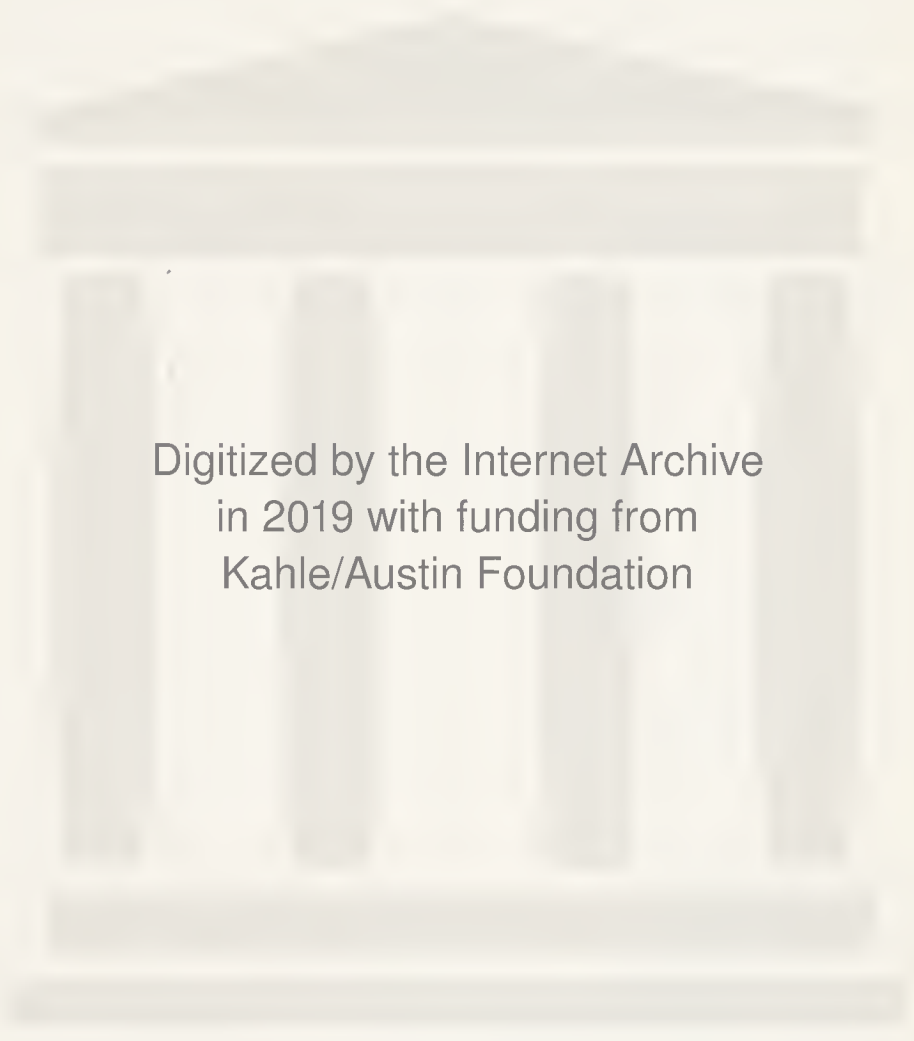


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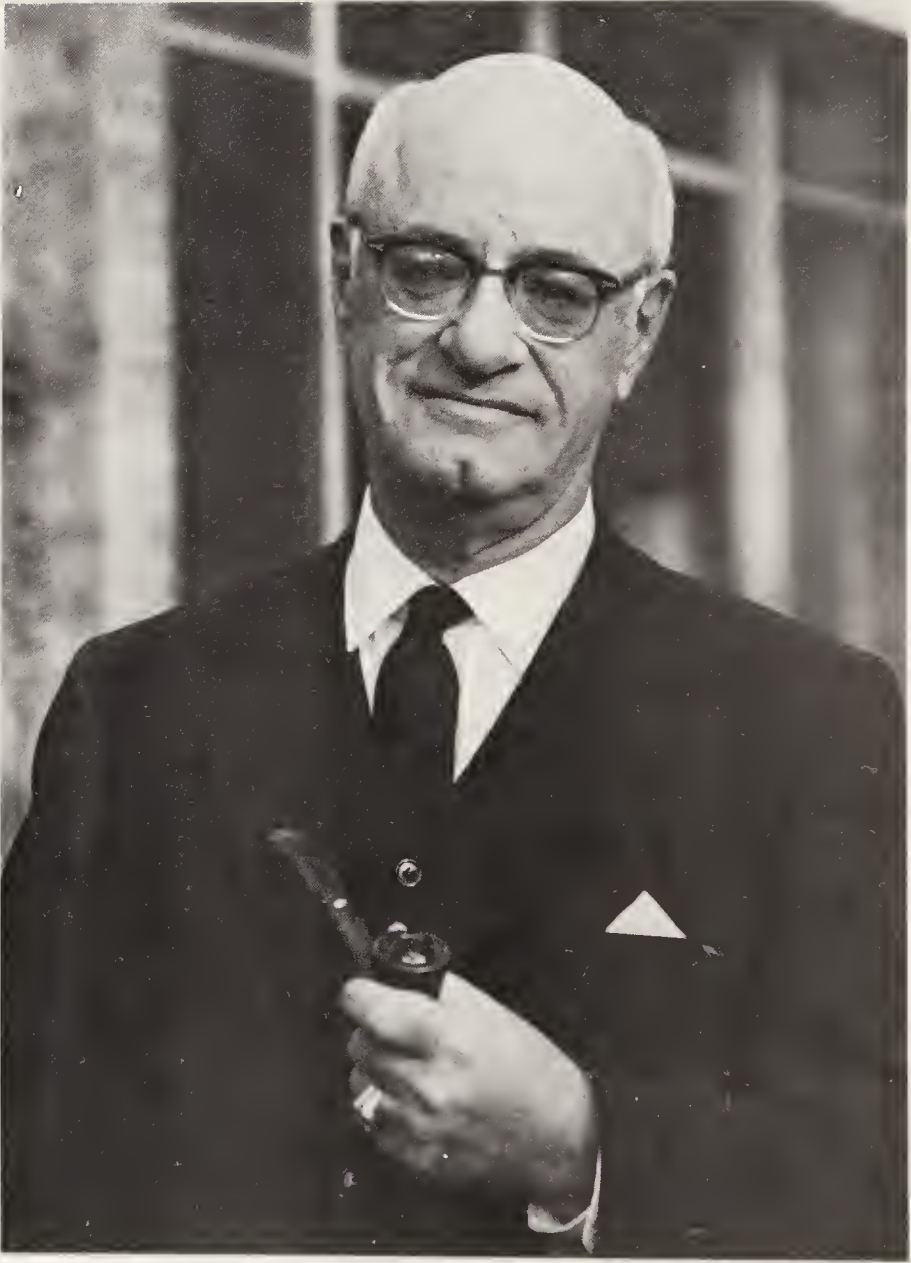
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Athens in the Middle Ages



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To the Memory of
BASIL LAOURDAS

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PREFACE

The half-dozen articles contained in this volume were written over a period of more than thirty years. For permission to reprint them I am grateful to the Columbia University Press (for no. I), the editors of the *American Journal of Archaeology* (II), the Mediaeval Academy of America (III), Dr. Louisa Laourdas, editor of the dedicatory volume of the late Dr. Basil Laourdas (V), and the University of Wisconsin Press (IV and VI). The earliest of these articles (III), one of the sins of my academic past, was written too hastily amid wartime distraction. I wish that I could rewrite it, *sed littera scripta manet*. Variorum has, however, allowed me to make some revisions, and in this Preface I shall try to take some account of recent additions to our knowledge of Athens in the twelfth century.

For years I hoped and indeed expected some day to write the preface to a book on *Athens in the Middle Ages* (cf. the first footnote in no. I, p. 227). Long ago, however, I abandoned my intention to try to write the medieval history of the city and its monuments. An incomplete and unsatisfactory first draft of such a work (to the year 1204) moulders in my files. Becoming fascinated with the history of the later Crusades, I have devoted the last two decades to a work on *The Papacy and the Levant, 1204-1571*. It is in three volumes, in the first of which I have incorporated some of the Athenian material I had collected relating to the thirteenth century, which period is not covered by any one of the present six articles. Volume I of *The Papacy and the Levant*, which is being published by the American Philological Society, is now in the hands of the printer, and *Deo volente* the other two volumes should soon follow.

It is surprising that Ferdinand Gregorovius's famous but antiquated *Geschichte der Stadt Athen im Mittelalter*, 2 vols., Stuttgart, 1889, and Sp. P. Lampros's expanded Greek translation of Gregorovius (3 vols., Athens, 1904-6) should still provide our only full coverage of a millennium of Athenian history. I hope that some Byzantinist will soon undertake the replacement of the old Gregorovius-Lampros, which has been so conspicuous in footnote references for the last seventy years.

That interest in medieval Athens is not lacking, is certainly suggested by various studies that have appeared in recent years. The architectural growth and contraction of the city from antiquity to the beginning of the nineteenth century is traced by John N. Travlos, *Πολεοδομικὴ ἐξέλιξις τῶν Ἀθηνῶν*, Athens, 1960, to which reference is made below in no. VI, p. 273, n. 174. The archaeological background of the early period is explored by my colleague Homer A. Thompson, "Athenian Twilight: A.D. 267-600," in the *Journal of Roman Studies*, XLIX (1959), 61-72. Among other relevant studies Thompson has recently published, with R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora*, XIV: *The Agora of Athens: The History, Shape and Uses of an Ancient City Center*, Princeton, N.J., 1972, in which the last chapter deals briefly with Athens after the Herulian sack of 267. On the intellectual life of Athens in the mid-third century and the Athenians' repulse of the invasion of the Heruli (III, 179), see Fergus Millar, "P. Herennius Dexippus: The Greek World and the Third-Century Invasions," *Journal of Roman Studies*, LIX (1969), 16-29. Excavation has now brought to light some 60,000 coins in the Athenian Agora, ranging from the sack of the city by Sulla in 86 B.C. to the equally unfortunate expedition of Francesco Morosini in 1687-1688 (see in general Margaret Thompson, *The Athenian Agora*, II: *Coins from the Roman through the Venetian Period*, Princeton, 1954). Efforts have been made to use the finds of coinage to help eke out the sparse literary record. These efforts have evoked the criticisms of Peter Charanis, "The Significance of Coins as Evidence for the History of Athens and Corinth in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries," *Historia: Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte*, IV (1955), 163-72 (reprinted in P. Charanis, *Studies on the Demography*

of the *Byzantine Empire*, Variorum Reprints, London, 1972), and the cautions of Sp. Vryonis, "An Attic Hoard of Byzantine Gold Coins (668-741) . . .," in the *Zbornik Radova Vizantoloskog Instituta*, VIII (Belgrade, 1963), 291-300 (also reprinted by Variorum Reprints in Sp. Vryonis, *Byzantium: its internal history and relations with the Muslim world*, London, 1971), and of Philip Grierson, "Byzantine Coinage as Source Material," in the *Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies* [held at Oxford in September 1966], Oxford University Press, 1967, pp. 315-333, with an extensive bibliography. In this context see also D. M. Metcalf, "The Slavonic Threat to Greece circa 580: Some Evidence from Athens," *Hesperia*, XXXI (1962), 134-57, where coins, some of which cannot be earlier than the years 582-585, are described as "the only record that the Slavonic invasion affected Athens" (*op. cit.*, pp. 144-47).

We move to rather less controversial ground with two articles by Alison Frantz, "From Paganism to Christianity in the Temples of Athens," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XIX (1965), 185-205, with two maps and twenty illustrations, and "Pagan Philosophers in Christian Athens," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, CXIX (1975), 29-38. Cf. also her brief papers, "Herculius in Athens: Pagan or Christian?" *Akten des VII. Internationalen Kongresses für Christliche Archäologie*, Trier, 1965, pp. 527-30, and "Honors to a Librarian," *Hesperia*, XXXV (1966), 377-80. On Synesius's disdain for Athens, note the reflections of H. I. Marrou, "Synesius of Cyrene and Alexandrian Neoplatonism," in Arnaldo Momigliano, ed., *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century*, Oxford, 1963, esp. pp. 135 ff. With reference to the tenth- and early eleventh-century mosque in Athens, on the site of the Asclepieum, around which there appears to have dwelt a small colony of Moslems (II, 314a-19), see the following articles by George C. Miles: "The Arab Mosque in Athens," *Hesperia*, XXV (1956), 329-44; "Byzantium and the Arabs: Relations in Crete and the Aegean Area," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XVIII (1964), 3-32, with 94 (photographic) illustrations; and "The Circulation of Islamic Coinage of the 8th-12th Centuries in Greece,"

Atti del Congresso internazionale di numismatica [held in Rome in September 1961], II (Rome, 1965), 485-98. See also Miles's catalogue, *The Athenian Agora*, IX: *The Islamic Coins*, Princeton, 1962. Incidentally, the earliest datable Ottoman coin found in the Agora appears to be a silver *aqche* of Sultan Mehmed I (1413-1421), after which there is a numismatic lapse of some sixty years when coins of Bayazid II (1481-1512) become fairly common.

Jean Darrouzès has established the dates of the deaths of two metropolitans of Athens in the mid-twelfth century in an article on "Obit de deux métropolités d'Athènes Léon Xéros et Georges Bourtzès d'après les inscriptions du Parthénon" in the *Revue des études byzantines*, XX (1962), 190-96. Xeros died on Sunday, 18 January 1153, and his successor Bourtzès on Monday, 16 May, 1160. The see of Athens seems to have been somewhat more important than the Metropolitan Michael Choniates represents it to have been (III), both Bourtzès and his successor Nicholas Hagiotheodorites being charged with missions to Rome. Darrouzès has republished six letters of George Tornikes, written between 1153 and 1155, addressed to the Metropolitan Bourtzès (*Georges et Dèmètrios Tornikès, Lettres et discours*, Paris, 1970, pp. 113-26, 152-55, 204-19). Sp. P. Lampros had erroneously assumed that these letters were addressed to the Metropolitan Michael (1182-1204), whose works he published (in 2 vols., Athens, 1879-80, repr. Groningen, 1968, and see vol. II, pp. 409-29 for the letters in question), on which note Robert Browning, "The Patriarchal School at Constantinople in the Twelfth Century," *Byzantion*, XXXIII (1963), 34-37. Having declined the see of Corinth, George Tornikes became the metropolitan of Ephesus (1155-1157?); the date of his death is unknown, but is prior to July 1167 when a successor, Nicholas, held the throne of Ephesus.

The letters of George Tornikes dispel some of the darkness encompassing mid-twelfth century Athens. He probably knew the city at first hand. His brother Leon lived there, and so did his cousin Euthymius. The Tornikes family came from Thebes, and had close connections with other archontic families in Euboea, Corinth, and Arta. A third brother Demetrius, who lived to an advanced age, was "logothete of

the dromos" (an imperial prime minister) at his death in late January 1201, on the eve of the Fourth Crusade. Demetrius's son Constantine Tornikes succeeded him as logothete. The family was well known to Michael Choniates (cf. J. Darrouzès, "Notes sur Euthyme Tornikès, Euthyme Malakès et Georges Tornikès," *Revue des études byzantines*, XXIII [1965], 148-67, and cf. the same writer's study of "Les Discours d'Euthyme Tornikès [1200-1205]," *ibid.*, XXVI [1968], 49 ff.).

The affairs of the Latin Church in Athens during the thirteenth century are dealt with, as noted above, in the forthcoming first volume of my *Papacy and the Levant*. The history of the Catalan Grand Company is traced in some detail (up to the conquest of the Athenian duchy in 1311) in Angeliki E. Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins: The Foreign Policy of Andronicus II, 1282-1328*, Cambridge, Mass., 1972. The bibliography of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is covered in my *Catalan Domination of Athens, 1311-1388*, rev. ed., London: Variorum, 1975, which despite the title includes the history of the city under the Venetians and the Acciajuoli (to the Turkish occupation of 1456). Mention should be made of Edward W. Bodnar's book on *Cyriacus of Ancona and Athens*, Brussels-Berchem, 1960, and of his article on "Athens in April 1436," in *Archaeology*, XXIII (1970), 96-105, and *ibid.*, pp. 188-99, which is concerned with Ciriaco d'Ancona's first visit to Athens.

The title speaks for itself in James Morton Paton's *Chapters on Mediaeval and Renaissance Visitors to Greek Lands*, Princeton, 1951, and the medieval as well as the post-medieval period is touched upon by John Travlos and Alison Frantz in their study of "The Church of St. Dionysios the Areopagite and the Palace of the Archbishop of Athens in the 16th Century," *Hesperia*, XXXIV (1965), 157-202. The object of this Preface is of course to identify recent books and articles which relate to one or another of the six studies which comprise this volume. But anyone who wishes to conclude his reading of post-classical Athenian history with that last, sad chapter which includes Francesco Morosini's never to be forgotten campaign against the Turks may turn to two somewhat older works, one by T. E. Mommsen, "The Venetians in Athens and the Destruction of the Parthenon in 1687,"

American Journal of Archaeology, XLV (1941), 544-56, and the other by J. M. Paton, *The Venetians in Athens (1687-1688): From the Istorica of Cristoforo Ivanovich*, Cambridge, Mass., 1940.

Once more I am happy to acknowledge my debt to my secretary Mrs Jean Carver for her painstaking assistance and to Dr Harry W. Hazard, my co-editor in the *History of the Crusades*, for his careful preparation of the Index. And once more I am grateful to Mrs Eileen Turner, publisher of Variorum Reprints and Revised Editions, for a volume in her series of Collected Studies, which has retrieved so many articles by various scholars from the vast and sometimes inaccessible archive of periodical and monographic publication.

KENNETH M. SETTON

The Institute for Advanced Study
23 April 1975

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF MEDIEVAL ATHENS

Mr. Osbert Lancaster, who has drawn for us with entertaining brilliance a *Classical Landscape with Figures*, holds the American excavators of the Athenian Agora, or Marketplace, up to some opprobrium for destroying the Turkish quarter in Athens in order to uncover the flat and, to him, uninteresting foundation blocks of ancient buildings. The Agora, declares Mr. Lancaster, "it is difficult to contemplate calmly when one realizes that, in order to lay bare this dreary bomb-site, industrious and heavily subsidized American archaeologists laboured long years pulling down the greater part of the old Turkish quarter, the few remnants of which that still stand are yet sufficient to indicate the extent and nature of the loss."¹ Mr. Lancaster feeds his indignation with some measure of inaccuracy. The truth is that most of the houses and other buildings of the Turkish era had been reduced to rubble during the Greek Revolution, and the houses demolished by the American excavators dated almost entirely from the middle or the later nineteenth century. A few of these houses still stand, along Asteroskopiou Street, being employed for work and for storage by the American School of Classical Studies. Most of the houses that were torn down are still preserved in photographs, mounted and filed in the splendidly kept records of the American School. Little has been lost as a result of these excavations. A vast amount of information has been gained,

¹ (London, 1947), p. 48. The chief source for the present essay has been the unpublished Excavators' Reports, kept on file among the American Agora Records, Asteroskopiou Street, Athens, Greece. This essay has been adapted (and simplified) from a chapter in the writer's forthcoming study of *Athens in the Middle Ages*, where complete references to the archaeological and literary sources will be given, a fact which makes unnecessary an array of footnotes here.

MEDIEVAL ATHENS



however, and not only of the ancient, but also of the medieval past; for the excavators have kept records of their Byzantine finds with the same loving care they have lavished upon the descriptions and classification of their discoveries from Mycenaean to Hellenistic and Roman imperial times. We may say, rather after the fashion of Terence, that the American excavators, as Athenian archaeologists, have regarded nothing in the long past of Athens as being alien to their interests or unworthy of their affections. American archaeology has thus come a long way from those heroic days when the School, something over sixty years ago, first excavated at Plataea and could report with pride that, although somewhat impeded by a rainstorm, the first three days' operations saw the demolition of seven Byzantine churches (April 2-4, 1889), two of them being cleared the first morning. Very likely, as the historian of the American School has written, Plataea had seen no such display of energy since the Peloponnesian War.²

The history of archaeological research in the Agora may be said to begin in July of 1834, soon after the Greek government had moved from Nauplia to Athens, when King Otto set the Agora region aside for archaeological exploration; throughout the century that followed, heavy building in this area was prohibited. The Greek Archaeological Society excavated the Stoa of Attalus (1859-62, 1898-1902), as well as the so-called Stoa of the Giants (1859, 1871); in 1896-97 the German Archaeological Institute, under Professor Wilhelm Dörpfeld, started the search for the Stoa Basileios, with which Pausanias begins his famous description of the buildings along the west side of the Agora (I, 3, 1, and 14,6), and this work was continued by the Greek Archaeological Society in 1907-8. When the American excavations began, in 1931, the whole Agora region was reckoned as covering about twenty-six acres of land, on which some six hundred dwellings housed from six to seven thousand persons. Since Greek archaeologists had been assigned the eastern area, i. e., the

² Louis E. Lord, *A History of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* (Cambridge, Mass., 1947), pp. 73-74.

ancient Roman market, the American zone of excavation was established as the area of about sixteen acres between and including the Hill of Colonus on the west and the Stoa of Attalus on the east, and extending from the Areopagus and Acropolis on the south to the Athens-Piraeus Railway on the north—an area covering the central market square of the great period of Athenian history. On it were then located three hundred and sixty-seven houses and lots, which were expropriated by the government, an action involving some gingerly handled legal and social problems. These houses were gradually demolished, and with the removal of many tens of thousands of tons of earth, stones, and other débris one of the most fascinating chapters in the romance of modern archaeology was and still is being written. The history of ancient Athens has been almost completely revised as a result of these excavations, and many important additions have been made also to the history of Athens in the middle ages, enough certainly to move the ghost of Gregorovius to envy.

We shall not describe, “strosis by strosis,” from the field notebooks of the excavators in and around the Agora, the abundant remains of Byzantine habitation which they have uncovered in Athens. We shall leave no “martyras,” in the archaeological sense, standing forlornly in excavated areas, to give their grim testimony of construction and destruction in the Athenian past. The archaeologists have understood and written down this testimony in a long series of excavation or field notebooks; and like a court reporter, I have tried to read the record, seeking evidence wherewith to write the history of Athena’s city in a fascinating, but all the same forbidding, era. It is, therefore, as an historian that I write on archaeology, and this means, of course, that I write as a layman—but then most of us are laymen in most fields of history. Occasionally for the sake of topographical precision and ease of reference I shall locate certain finds in the precise archaeological sections into which surveyors have divided the whole Agora and surrounding regions. These sections have all been designated by letters of the Greek alphabet, as Section *MM* which is just north of the Hill of Colonus, Section *H*, which lies

in the northwest part of the Agora, and so on.³ However, when we measure anything in this paper, we shall do so by feet and not by meters. Our efforts must be toward historical synthesis and reconstruction, in so far as this may prove possible, and we shall seek to correlate some of the historical evidence with the archaeological record.

During the Roman Empire, as in the Greek classical period, the celebrated Street of the Panathenaea ran from the northwest corner of the Agora diagonally across the front of the Stoa of Attalus, much of which still stands along the east side of the Agora and the restoration of which is now proposed, as a museum, to house the many valuable antiquities discovered in the Agora by the American excavators. The Street of the Panathenaea led, next, up the northwest slope of the Acropolis and gave easy access to the valley farther west, and so to the Areopagus also, if one wished to go up there, as St. Paul once did on a memorable occasion. At the beginning of the Antonine period, another street, paved with marble, was constructed which started at the south end of the Stoa of Attalus and thence moved eastward. A flight of a half dozen or more stairs leading up from the Street of the Panathenaea, at the southwest corner of the Stoa, gave access to this street, which made its way eastward through the gate of Athena Archegetis into the Roman market, where extensive remains still attest the interest which Julius Caesar and Augustus took in the city of Cecrops. In the fork thus formed by the so-called Street of the Roman Market and the Street of the Panathenaea once stood the now famous Library of Pantainos, the existence of which was not suspected until 1933, when there was found, just south of the Stoa of Attalus and built into a wall beneath the southwest corner of the late Greek chapel of St. Spiridon, a large lintel block of Pentelic marble, bearing an inscription which is to be dated about A.D. 100, which records the dedication of a library "to Trajan and Athens."

³ See the accompanying map of "Medieval Athens," which has been redrawn from a map prepared by Mr. John Travlos, architect of the American School in Athens, for my *Athens in the Middle Ages*.

The building was erected by a certain Pantainos, who is apparently the person of this name who served as Archon Eponymous shortly after A.D. 102. The inscription, which is beautifully cut, reads: "To Athena Polias and to the Emperor Caesar Augustus Nerva Trajanus Germanicus and to the city of the Athenians, the priest of the Philosophic Muses, T. Flavius Pantainos, son of Flavius Menandros, Diadochos [of the Stoic School?], with his children Flavius Menandros and Flavia Secundilla, has erected from his own means the outer stoas, the peristyle, the library with its books, and all the decorations in the building." ⁴ This glimpse into the family history of the Pantainoi is very interesting; father and son were both philosophers, the latter also donor of a library and an archon of Athens; and the late Mr. A. W. Parsons reminds us that this was "just in the years during which Plutarch, Dio Chrysostom, and Apollonius of Tyana were visitors to the city." Moreover, it is quite possible that T. Flavius' son, the young Flavius Menandros, who is associated with his father in the gift of the library to the Athenians, became himself, in after years, the father of another philosopher named Pantainos, who, said to have been an Athenian, also began his career as a Stoic; was converted to Christianity; and in his capacity as head of the Catechetical School of Alexandria was the teacher of the great Clement. Modern archaeology has thus revealed another connection of Athens with early Christianity, and one not too unworthy of being mentioned even in connection with the famous visit of St. Paul.

South of the Library of Pantainos, along the higher east side of the Panathenaic way, long low terrace walls supported a row of houses which extended south to the Acropolis. These houses seem to have been destroyed about the middle of the third century A.D., apparently before the coming of the Heruli in A.D. 267, for there is no evidence of fire as the cause of their destruction; various pieces of statuary were found here, together with

⁴ Cf. B. D. Meritt, in *Hesperia*, XV (1946), 233, n. 64, and Arthur W. Parsons, "A Family of Philosophers at Athens and Alexandria," in *Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear* (*Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, 1949), p. 269.

coins, but none later than Septimius Severus. After the Herulian attack, the so-called Valerian (once called the "Venetian") Wall was built, and its construction was a sad but significant event in the history of Athens. Beginning at the entrance to the Acropolis, the Wall ran north—along the east side of the Street of the Panathenaea—to the Stoa of Attalus, which was incorporated in it. In order to build the Wall, blocks were carried from the buildings destroyed by the Heruli along the west and south sides of the Agora, whence came an epistyle fragment from the Hellenistic Metroon, shafts and capitals from the columns of the great Odeum of Agrippa, and so on. The demolition of the historic buildings wrecked by the Heruli reflects the anxiety of the harassed Athenians of this troubled epoch; the blocks taken from these buildings and built into the Valerian Wall "show no signs of serious damage, by fire or otherwise: clearly they were deliberately and carefully removed from the structures to which they belonged."

From the north end of the Stoa the Wall was extended east as far as the massive Library of Hadrian, which was also incorporated into its circuit, and from here the Wall traveled south, under the lofty eastern end of the Acropolis, to the Odeum of Pericles, which was in its turn built into it. Next, the beautifully proportioned Theater of Dionysus, the great rugged blocks of the Stoa of Eumenes, and the lofty arches of the Odeum of Herodes Atticus were all included in the Wall and contributed their strength to the defense of Athena's sacred rock. Finally, from the Odeum of Herodes the Wall climbed back up to the entrance of the Acropolis. Its circuit was complete. It enclosed a small city clearly despairing of its future.

The Valerian Wall was built in the last quarter of the third century, while the Athenians still labored under the evil memory of the Herulian catastrophe. A coin of the Emperor Probus (A.D. 276-82) was found in an undisturbed section of the "footing trench" (along the east face of the wall), and since this is the latest of numerous coins found here, the wall may have been built during or shortly after the reign of Probus. Beginning about the middle of the fourth century A.D., débris began to rise along

the course of the ancient street running north and south; it climbed in layers up the lower courses of the outer wall. These layers have been studied in the attempt to reconstruct the early history of the wall. Sometime in the fourth century, too, an interesting water mill was built against the northwest foot of the Wall, in the angle of a defense tower. The date of the destruction of this mill can be fairly closely determined and is important for the history of this area. The mill was burned in the later sixth century, and since the Agora shows ample evidence of later sixth-century burning, we may, conceivably, attribute it all to an attack of the Slavs, driven on perhaps by the Avars. In the burned fill which overlay the floor of the mill there were found "several complete Christian lamps of a very degenerate type," and more than six hundred coins, the latest being those of the Emperors Justin I, Justinian, and Justin II (518-78). The mill was consequently destroyed about 578-85, years of notorious importance in the Slavic history of Greece. After this the region of the Agora, west of the Valerian Wall, was rather sparsely inhabited, although the American excavations have revealed that it was never entirely deserted. In constructing the Valerian Wall, gates had been left at either end of the marble-paved street which ran from the southern end of the Stoa of Attalus through the Roman Market, and this street survived until modern times. Pottery and, more especially, coins have enabled the archaeologist to trace the successive road levels which rose from the fifth century through the seventh, continued thereafter into the period of Byzantine glazed pottery, and later into the Turkish period.

The Valerian Wall thus enclosed only a very restricted area north of, and including, the Acropolis itself; for a fuller knowledge of the details of its circuit we must await the studies, now under way, of Mr. Eugene Vanderpool; in any event it is now clear that the Wall was carefully built of materials taken from the buildings on the west and south sides of the Agora. The final and complete demolition of the great buildings along the west side of the Agora, well known from literary references to them and described for us in detail by Professor H. A. Thompson,

who excavated most of them, was the work of the Athenians themselves, who needed their finely trimmed blocks in order to build the Wall. Fortunately the so-called Theseum was spared, because the builders found enough material rather closer to hand. From the Herulian attack of A.D. 267 Athens never recovered, despite the passing brilliance of the city in the fourth century, when the Emperor Julian, Basil the Great, and Gregory Nazianzen were students in her hallowed precincts. At the close of the fourth century Synesius of Cyrene spent some time in Athens, but he could curse the hapless skipper whose ship brought him there. "Present-day Athens has nothing grand but its famous place names," Synesius informs us, and he thought the city resembled a burnt sacrificial offering: only the charred remains were left of a creature which once had lived. Philosophy had abandoned Athens, according to Synesius, and now the tourist could admire only the Academy, the Lyceum, and, by Zeus, the *Stoa Poikile*, or Painted Porch, which had given its name to the philosophy of Zeno and Chrysippus. But the Stoa was *poikile* no longer, for a proconsul had just removed the famous paintings upon which Polygnotus of Thasos had lavished his talent. Athens had once been the city of the wise, but now only the beekeepers upheld her fame.⁵ Be all this as it may, in less than three years after the departure of Synesius there was a fair amount of important construction in Athens, almost indeed a "building boom," and about the year 400 or so the complex of so-called "university buildings" was erected on the site of the ancient Odeum of Agrippa in the south central part of the Agora. There was a good deal of building elsewhere about the year 400, over a fairly wide area, which implies an expansion of the city outside the narrow enclosure of the Valerian Wall (which was, however, maintained in case of further need). All this suggests that the defensible outer walls yet again followed the lines of the Themistoclean circuit, which was repaired in the sixth century by Justinian and which may, in fact, be the circuit of the walls of which the Metropolitan Michael Choniates speaks in the later twelfth century.

⁵ Synesius, *Ep.* 135 (136), in J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, LXVI, 1524 BC.

Some distance south of the Hill of Colonus, on the lower north-west slope of the Areopagus and extending farther west toward the Hill of the Nymphs, the sometimes sparse remains were excavated of house walls and floors from the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. down to, and after, the third century A.D., when the Herulian sack of the year 267 brought desolation to this area and to those adjoining it. Here, as elsewhere in the Agora, the excavators have found much evidence of the destruction of the late Hellenistic city by Sulla in 86 B.C.; indeed, the remains of those houses are well preserved which went down under the fury of Sulla and his soldiers' notable capacity for depredation; for they lay, until but a few years ago, well protected by the débris of their own destruction, after which there was comparatively little building in this area for about a generation. In the early Christian period, perhaps before the Antonines, some large houses were built here, and it is these which were destroyed by the Heruli. In one house the excavators have found rather spectacular evidence of the barbarians' work in Athens. The floors of this house were covered with burnt materials and with large quantities of broken tiles that had fallen from the roof. Underneath and embedded in the débris, close to floor level, a well-preserved Roman portrait bust of an elderly man was found in the room where it had fallen almost seventeen centuries ago. Charred and burnt materials were found everywhere in the house. "From the consistent appearance of this burned matter," according to the excavator's notes, "there would seem to have been no subsequent disturbance following the fire, and the objects found on the floor level must have been those in use at the time of [the] destruction." These objects include a bronze bowl, a bronze brazier or censer (*thymiaterion*), and a bronze statuette of Eros.

The Eros was much encrusted at the time of its discovery, but it has now been well cleaned and is a rather lively piece (Agora Museum, inv. no. B809). Doubtless, many objects of softer substances have perished. A collection of fifty-seven coins was also found; these coins are mostly of bronze, and largely from the second and third centuries A.D.; the latest of them dates from

the unfortunate reign of Gallienus (A.D. 253-68). This coin clearly fastens the responsibility for the destruction of this house and area upon the Heruli.

In a smaller room of this same house, now known to the excavators as the "South House," still more of this dramatic story is told by a jumble of pots and jugs and dishes and by a heap of bones, those of a small donkey, found in what was clearly the kitchen of the house. Under great masses of floor tiles, the excavator uncovered a mortar and pestle, some pots and jugs, lamps and amphorae, a bronze oinochoe, an iron spoon, and other kitchen ware which served well enough to identify the room. Here also was the skeleton of the donkey, who had obviously been brought into the kitchen in the vain hope of protecting him from the rapacious Heruli. When, however, the inhabitants of the house had come to realize the seriousness of the situation, they had fled, leaving the donkey to perish in the heap of pots and pans which fell from the walls around him as the house began to crumble in flames. When this site was excavated and studied in the early spring of 1948, a Greek potmender named Andreas observed that he and his mother and sister had similarly concealed from the Germans, during World War II, both a donkey and a goat behind a large wardrobe in his home at Corinth. The wardrobe was apparently pulled out from a windowless wall, and either Andreas or his sister had to be in constant attendance on the animals, so that when the donkey showed signs of braying, they might distract him by putting a bunch of grapes in his mouth! Andreas and his sister went through two anxious days, but they saved their donkey and goat from the twentieth-century Heruli. (Miss Lucy Talcott told me this story in Athens in the summer of 1950, as an illustration of how the third-century donkey got in the kitchen.) In the ancient house, however, since it was a very substantial and elegant one, the donkey came as a surprise; for the occupants of this house were certainly not farming folk who must protect an animal almost before themselves. The donkey was valuable, however, and worth concealing. If we may be allowed to employ our imagination in reconstructing the events which happened in

the frightened household one dismal day in the year 267, we may believe that the animal may have brought a pack of vegetables and the like from some country place, and thus was tied in the outer yard when the alarm was given of the Herulian attack. Thereupon the donkey was brought into the kitchen until the extent of the danger was realized; then he was doubtless forgotten as the inhabitants of this crowded and rather wealthy district fled to the nearby Acropolis in an effort to save their lives. In any event you see why the archaeologists in Athens are fond of this story; it is a good one, and Miss Talcott tells it well.

The history of the area northwest of the Areopagus could almost be written from the drains, which reveal constant care and attention down to the middle of the third century or so but were finally abandoned in the sixth and not employed thereafter. This area shows the customary fires and destruction of the later sixth century, but does not present quite such a blank for the seventh and eighth centuries as certain other sites; for not only have ample evidences been found here of habitation in the fourth and fifth centuries, but in one place an industrial establishment was discovered, with at least three furnaces—perhaps a tile manufactory—which the excavators dated between the sixth century and the eighth, although it may be somewhat later. Some scraps of pottery of the sixth century A.D. were also discovered, the evidence, fragmentary though it is, suggesting the long continuance of at least some houses and shops in this vicinity. After the Slavic incursions of the later sixth century, these houses were gradually abandoned, their valuable contents being first removed by the inhabitants to other and safer parts of the city.

The drainage system, as we have noted, was no longer kept open, and so the entire southern portion of this section began to silt up, a process which continued through the seventh and later centuries, and raised the ground level in places fifteen feet and more—a protective fill for which we may be thankful, because it helped preserve some remains of private houses of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. despite the general looting of the area in Byzantine times for building materials. At least a half dozen

interesting and important Byzantine houses were discovered and unearthed here, dating from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries, whence it is apparent that the historic valley between the Areopagus and the Hills of the Nymphs and of Colonus contained an area where private houses were maintained and shops were kept from classical far into Byzantine times. We are again reminded of the long, unbroken history of Athens in general, and of this area in particular, by the discovery here of parts of the Turkish defense wall of 1778, built for protection against the depredations of the Albanians in that unhappy year.

Southeast of the Agora, at the foot of the northwest slope of the Acropolis, two fragments were found of walls, probably from the later sixth or the earlier seventh century; they were covered in many places with a burned "destruction fill," indicating a fire some time in the seventh century, which may conceivably be related to the Bulgar attack which, I believe, resulted in the brief occupation of Corinth in the middle of the seventh century. Byzantine potsherds were unearthed in this section in some quantity, as we might expect, and a handsome, well-preserved rectangular bronze buckle, with an open-work scroll pattern (Agora Museum, inv. no. B 523), was found in direct contact with two coins of Constans II (641-68). As a matter of fact, the coins of Constans II were especially numerous in this area. Disturbed walls, a cistern, coins, and *pithoi* suggest further habitation here from the tenth century on; it was doubtless continuous, whatever the vicissitudes of the site. There was also some rather extensive wall-building on the terraces of this area from the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries into Turkish times. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries some houses were constructed in this area, on the upper terrace of which the excavators found numerous walls but only a few floors still remaining. The Valerian Wall showed signs of repair in late Byzantine and Latin times, suggesting that some of it may be the work of the Catalans and Florentines. Considering the history of Athens in the fourteenth and earlier fifteenth centuries, it is hard to imagine, as the excavators have suggested in their unpublished reports, that the Valerian Wall could have

been looted for building materials during this era. After the Turkish occupation of the city in 1456, however, the wall would have made a very convenient quarry, and there were then no external enemies to challenge the sultan's possession of Athens.

In the later fourth and earlier fifth centuries A.D. there must have been much traffic through the great towered gateway in the Valerian Wall, at the south end of the Stoa of Attalus, where the little chapel of the Panagia Pyrgiotissa once stood, as citizens and students moved from the narrow circuit of the inner city enclosed by the Valerian Wall into the ancient Agora, despoiled, more than a century before of the great buildings along its west and south sides. At the northeast corner of the Agora, however, near the eastward swing of the Valerian Wall, the Stoa Poikile was probably still standing, although it was robbed about that time, as we have noted from Synesius, of the famous paintings of Polygnotus of Thasos. Contributing also to the flow of people and things from the area east of the Wall into the Agora was at least one other gate farther south, discovered under the Church of the Hypapanti when this was demolished in 1938. Doubtless the so-called "university complex" in the Agora was built as a consequence of the renewed academic prosperity which Athens enjoyed in the middle and later fourth century; a passage in the rhetorician Mamertinus suggests that the Emperor Julian may have restored the outer circuit of the walls during his brief reign:⁶ this would have restored the Agora as a center of daily concourse in the city and have made it a good place for the construction of the "university complex" a few decades later. As a student in Athens, Julian must often have passed through the high-towered gateway, at the south end of the Stoa of Attalus, and read the inscription which would remind him that the great blocks in the Valerian Wall had not been laid one upon another by the power

⁶ Mamertinus *Gratiarum actio Iuliano* ix, in Guil. Baehrens, ed., *XII Panegyrici Latini* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1911), p. 138: "Ipsae illae bonarum artium magistrae et inventrices Athenae omnem cultum publice privatimque perdiderant. In miserandam ruinam conciderat Eleusina. Sed universas urbes ope[re] imperatoris refotas enumerare perlongum est . . ." I am not here concerned with the problem of who Mamertinus was (cf. Edouard Galletier, *Panegyriques latins*, I [Paris, 1949], xviii-xix, xxxii).

of Amphion's music, nor had the strong hand of the Cyclops put them in place.⁷ the wall had been built by the Athenians, who were not so fortunate as the Thebans.

Part of Justinian's refortification of Athens, whether it included the complete reestablishment of the Themistoclean circuit of the walls or not, certainly included repairs to the Valerian Wall, which seems to have enclosed an inner city, always available for refuge, as the years passed, against the incursions of Slavs, Avars, and Bulgars. In archaeological Section *HH* (immediately north of *ΘΘ*, on the lower northwest slope of the Acropolis), the period from the seventh century to the ninth has so far appeared chiefly in a thick destruction fill, showing ample signs of fire, overlying the foundations of a terrace wall, but there is also considerable evidence, including a new street running north and south (just east of the Valerian Wall), of Byzantine, Burgundian, and apparently Catalan habitation in this area from the tenth century through the fourteenth. Buildings, which seem to have been constructed in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and to have been destroyed in the fourteenth, were found here. They could have been destroyed in 1311, when the Catalans took the city; in 1331, when Gautier II de Brienne sought to regain the city and duchy which his father had lost twenty years before; in 1379, when the Navarrese attacked Athens (and occupied Thebes); or in 1387-1388, when Nerio Acciajuoli occupied the lower city and laid siege to the Acropolis. The buildings lay east of the Valerian Wall; their destruction probably indicates the successful occupation of the lower city. In any event, some time thereafter, the Valerian Wall was repaired, conceivably by Antonio I Acciajuoli, who is said by a literary source to have repaired walls, laid streets, and built houses in Athens.

A little farther up the northwest slope of the Acropolis (in archaeological Section *II*), some extensive Byzantine remains

⁷ *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Vols. II-III², Part III: *Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno posteriores*, fasc. 1 (Berlin, 1935), No. 5200a:

οὐ τὰδε θελξιμελὴς Ἀμφιονὶς ἤρα[ρε φόρουγξ]
οὐδὲ Κυκλωπείας χειρὸς ἔδ[ειμε βία].

were uncovered, including part of a massive fortification wall, sgraffito ware, two Byzantine poros altars, and the like. A small laundry, probably dating from the seventh century A.D., was found, established in one corner of an ancient building. Much more important, however, was the discovery in this area of a large Byzantine house (designated by the excavators as "Bldg. D"), with its ground plan very well preserved; it consisted of seven or eight rooms arranged around a central court, which was paved. This house was evidently built in the earlier eleventh century, was reconstructed in the twelfth, and was, conceivably, destroyed in 1203, when Leon Sgouros attacked Athens and the city was defended by its valiant Metropolitan Michael Choniates. Afterward, some parts of this house must have been rebuilt, for the northern rooms bore witness to Frankish and even to Turkish habitation. More interesting still is the fact that the archaeological campaign of 1938 revealed the Church of the Hypapanti (in the northwest corner of Section II) to have been built during the Turkish period, probably in the seventeenth century. "Earlier archaeologists," according to the summary of the excavator's report, "misled by the alterations in the [alleged] 'Frankish' style, had supposed that the original church must date as early perhaps as the ninth century [and Professor G. A. Sotiriou dated it in the tenth century, in the *Εὐαγγέλιον τῶν μεσαιωνικῶν μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος*], and had not noted that the plan of the original was identical with that of the Vlassarou and other seventeenth-century churches. [The Vlassarou has also been demolished.] The conclusion as to its date is supported by excellent stratigraphic and ceramic evidence, as well as by the history of the Valerian Wall over which the Church lies; the 'Frankish' repairs are probably not earlier than the eighteenth century!" The fact that a scholar like Sotiriou could misdate the earliest construction of the Hypapanti by some seven centuries is a spectacular indication of the extent of our knowledge—or of our ignorance—concerning the so-called "churches of old Athens," to adopt the title of Mr. Costas E. Biris's convenient little book about them. Biris knows and lists one hundred and forty such churches; he seems to have

missed at least a score of others; but it is to be hoped that Mr. John Travlos may publish before too long more results of some of his own recent historical and architectural studies of the "churches of old Athens." The classical archaeologists have shown, of course, as in the case of the Hypapanti, that they could date some of these churches of the Byzantine and Turkish eras with almost irrefutable exactitude. Unfortunately, however, when they conclude their robust researches, you have exchanged your church for a hole in the ground and a pile of notes. Thus we could never encourage them, nor the Greek government allow them, to date for us, *more suo*, the Kapnikarea, Sts. Theodore, and the intriguing Old Metropolis.

The Church of the Hypapanti was torn down, as we have noted, in 1938. Under it a gateway was discovered in the Valerian Wall, with the original paving largely in place. This gate was apparently used throughout the Byzantine period, and the Byzantine pivot block was also found *in situ*. The Valerian Wall was maintained and constantly repaired until Turkish times. Excavation has made it abundantly clear that the northwest slope of the Acropolis was an important part of the large Byzantine community of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, which extended to a considerable distance to the northwest (doubtless beyond Section MM), and also to the northeast, where the churches of the Sts. Theodore, the Kapnikarea, and the Old Metropolis are located—three beautiful little churches, all dating, it is thought, from the eleventh century. In the region of the Agora itself is the Church of the Holy Apostles, still standing, which is said to date from the twelfth century. Unfortunately, all these churches were subjected to considerable modernization, as well as repair, in the nineteenth century, and the extensive redoing of their murals comes as a shock to the student of Byzantine art. But, at least, they still stand, small, impressive, almost beautiful, with solid walls and solemn interiors, used today just as they were apparently eight or nine centuries ago, historic memorials of a distant past.

Byzantine finds of one sort or another, such as coins, potsherds, pieces of house and terrace walls, and the like, have been dis-

covered in the numerous archaeological sections into which the considerable area between the Agora and the Areopagus and the Acropolis has been divided to enable the excavators to keep exact topographical records. But we cannot pause in this brief paper to consider the significance of a stray coin of Heraclius nor a few walls from the twelfth century, found on the north slope of the depression between the Acropolis and the Areopagus, for there was apparently little habitation here from the seventh century until at least the fourteenth. Some houses were probably built in the fifteenth century in the south and central parts of this area (i. e., Section *BB*), but more modern builders have destroyed the evidence of whatever fifteenth-century habitation may have existed farther north, lower down the hill. In general we may say that the archaeological evidence for the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is very scarce, except for certain repairs made to the Valerian Wall and to the defenses on the Acropolis. Turkish and more modern builders have done a good deal of damage to the later medieval remains, since these lay much closer to the surface and were never buried in those deep layers of protective silt which covered and preserved the remains of the more distant past. The chronology of the late medieval and early modern periods is also very difficult to establish, for neatly datable levels are rarely traceable, owing to the long-continued disturbance of the earth in building and rebuilding, unassociated with important known events.

It may be permissible, however, and not too tedious to mention, by way of illustration, two or three of the more impressive bits of evidence which relate to the Byzantine history of the north slopes of the Areopagus and the Acropolis, before we pass on, finally, to the extensive medieval habitation in the north and northwest parts of the Agora, and beyond these to the area north of the Hill of Colonus, for a large suburb seems to have stretched, as we shall see, from the north slopes of the Acropolis and the Areopagus all the way across the Agora into the rather thickly settled region north of the Hill of Colonus.

At the foot, then, of the north slope of the Areopagus (in

Section Y), a Byzantine house was apparently located, with a large rectangular open court, dating from the eleventh and twelfth centuries. A little farther east, and slightly to the north (in Section Φ), many traces were found of habitation from the seventh century to the ninth. The destruction fill overlying the floor of a late Roman building with a marble chip mosaic floor, which was reused by Byzantine builders in the seventh century, yielded a coin from the miserable reign of the Emperor Philippicus Bardanes (711-13). Many other coins of this general period, especially of Constans II, who is known to have been in Athens, were also found scattered throughout the loose fill in the fragmentary walls and structures; there was a fair quantity of pottery, too, described by the excavators as "coarse and generally characterless, a very debased form of latest Roman." Still a little farther north (in Section T), overlying part of the late Hellenistic South Stoa, the rubble foundation walls of another house were discovered. The house consisted of at least a half dozen rooms and was built some time between the seventh and ninth centuries, as indicated by the pottery, of a very degenerate late "Roman" type, which was removed from its walls and from the areas around them. From the *stroiseis*, or traceable levels, which had formed over the walls, a little Byzantine pottery, i.e., early brown glaze ware, was recovered, which means that the house must have been destroyed in the earlier tenth century. Thus, although the Byzantine remains in this area (Section T) are obviously much less negotiable in an historical context than those of several other sites in and around the Agora, they are interesting as being the product of one of the most obscure periods in the long archaeological history of Athens. The excavators have given the name "dark ages" to the period from the seventh to the ninth century; and yet this is the period during which Athens gave two empresses to Byzantium and during which the Byzantine chroniclers relate a number of important events that link the history of the city on the Ilissus with the great capital on the Bosphorus.

In the extreme northwestern corner of the American zone of the Agora, in the section denoted as "Eta" (*H* and *H'*), the ex-

cavators unearthed, ten or twelve feet below the modern ground level, the walls of several Byzantine houses. And at the north end of this area there was uncovered a very large Byzantine structure, beneath which were found traces of at least one earlier Byzantine building and, further down, walls of Roman construction. The north end of the large Byzantine building was cut away when the Athens-Piraeus Railway was built. At the time this building was erected there were no longer any ancient blocks on the surface of the ground for the medieval builders to use in their own structure. The Byzantine building was divided into some twenty-eight or thirty rooms, not all constructed at the same time. The rooms were grouped around a fair-sized central court. When finally completed, the building seems to have measured at least one hundred and fifty-seven feet (48 m.) from east to west and over ninety-eight feet (30 m.) from north to south. Coins found under the floors date the building in the later twelfth century; those of Manuel I Comnenus were especially numerous. The deposit overlying the floors yielded a very considerable number of Frankish coins, many of them bearing the names of the Burgundian rulers of Athens. Coins of Prince Guillaume de Villehardouin of Achaea (1246-78) were also found in abundance. It is very difficult to visualize this building or to discern its purpose, for its plan is most haphazard, "a mere agglomeration of rectangular rooms." It seems to have possessed, at least along the north, a second storey. The location of its chief entrance likewise remains in doubt, but it may also have been on the north. The remains of this building no longer exist—they were removed by the excavators to get at the classical floor of the Agora—but almost a score of excavation notebooks contain much careful evidence concerning the building.

The presence of so many Frankish coins in the deposit overlying the floors of the large Byzantine building led the excavators to conclude that the building was abandoned "in the thirteenth or fourteenth century." There are several occasions of sufficient violence in the history of Athens during this general period when such an exposed place might have become impossible to live in.

The dates 1203, 1204, 1311, 1331, 1379, 1387-88, 1397, and even 1402-3 immediately come to mind, for in each of these years Athens was subjected either to siege or to more or less violent occupation. But the earlier dates appear the more likely; it is not impossible that this building and those near it were rendered uninhabitable by Leon Sgouros in 1203 or by the Burgundians in 1204. In view of the large numbers of coins of the De la Roche discovered in the fill over the floors, the Catalan occupation of the city in 1311 seems too late as the time in which to set the abandonment of this building. We must hasten to acknowledge, however, that the abandonment of this building may very well have been caused by some event or factor which has escaped the historical record and is thus quite unknown to us. It has been suggested that "it may be deduced from the plan of the building as well as from its unpretentious construction that the rooms were used for shops or for modest private dwellings." Pretentious construction one would not expect in twelfth-century Athens, but the general plan of the building, such as it is, and the excavators' unpublished reports suggest rather, in view of a certain unity which the building apparently possessed, the possibility of its having once been the residence of one of the powerful archontic families of whom the Metropolitan Michael Choniates complains.

In any event all the rooms in this large building do not date from exactly the same time, and it is likely that the building, or perhaps we might better call it a complex of rooms, served more than one purpose in its rather short history. This building, together with numerous others of the same period, must have been a familiar sight to the Metropolitan Michael, and it was doubtless easily reached from the western end of the Acropolis, sole place of descent from the medieval citadel, by walking down the path which in the Byzantine era still followed rather closely the ancient Panathenaic way through the Agora. There is little or no archaeological evidence for the roads or streets which served the twelfth-century community in the northern Agora, but the easy accessibility of this building to the entrance to the Acropolis, together with the number of its rooms, might even suggest that the building

served some official purpose in the city. Or, considering its proximity to the Theseum (Hephaesteum), then the "Church of St. George in the Cerameicus," and bearing in mind once more the number of its rooms and their peculiar arrangement, we might even entertain the suspicion that this building housed some of the monks of St. George and the travelers who came to them. But further conjecture is idle, for it has not proved possible to identify this building nor to indicate its purpose.

In Michael Choniates' day there was clearly a large settlement along the northern end of the ancient Agora, under the eastern porch of the Theseum, and the dirt-packed floors of the large Byzantine building have given up to the archaeologist's spade numerous objects of interest and some of importance—sherds of pottery; lamps, bowls, and plates; bronze keys, a bronze cross, and some bronze ornaments; a bronze stamp, lead seals, a battered bell; large storage jars (*pithei*) sunk into the earth floor; and Comnenian coins in great abundance, especially from the reign of Manuel I (1143-80). When the Byzantine, Frankish, and Turkish walls of Section Eta were demolished in early June of 1935, various ancient objects, such as a marble relief of Asclepius (found on June 1 in a Byzantine wall), fragments of bowls and plates and lamps, inscriptions, coins, and various ornamented blocks were found. In this section, too, a Byzantine furnace was discovered, connected with walls predating the Frankish period. Coins make clear the fact that this area was built up in the tenth and twelfth centuries and must have housed at least several hundred people. But the attack upon the city of Leon Sgouros in 1203, or the Burgundian occupation in 1204, or the hard years of Latin rule sufficed to bring an end to habitation in this tenth- to twelfth-century suburb, and from the thirteenth century until perhaps the close of the eighteenth there was no extensive settlement in this northwest quarter of the Agora region. The city was now largely concentrated farther to the east and huddled under the north wall of the Acropolis.

To the northwest of Section Eta, in the section marked "Mu Mu" (MM) by the excavators—i.e., in the area just north of the

place where the Athens-Piraeus Railway runs past the ancient Theseum (or rather Hephaestum)—the remains of a number of Byzantine houses have also been found. Here was rich evidence of long-continued Byzantine habitation. Byzantine coins were dug up, together with rings and other ornaments as well as plates, bowls, pots, pitchers, lamps, loom weights, clay stamps, storage pits and *pithoi*, wells, cisterns, and cesspools. Section MM formed part, as we have seen, of a large Byzantine suburb which spread out from the northwest corner of the Acropolis, and from the lower slopes of the Areopagus, more or less covering the region of the Hill of Colonus and the ancient Agora.

In ancient times a road ran east and west through the southern part of Section MM, following a line almost parallel to that of the present railway. Along the north side of this road once stood a long Doric colonnade, which appears to have been built or rather rebuilt late in the first century B.C. or in the early first century A.D., with old materials perhaps left from the destruction caused in this section by the soldiers of Sulla in 86 B.C. This building is known as the North Stoa. It was destroyed by a fire which left a thick "destruction fill" all over its floor, ashes and charcoal which apparently fell as the roof collapsed. This building was not rebuilt for a considerable time, and the earth and débris which collected in its ruins and covered the floor yielded pottery of the late third century A.D., which makes almost certain the fact of its destruction by the Heruli in A.D. 267. A new building with solid concrete walls was later built upon the foundations of the older North Stoa; this was done in the earlier fifth century, as indicated by the finds of coins beneath the floor level of the new building. There was much building in Athens in the region of the Agora in the early years of the fifth century, indicating a fair measure of prosperity in the city and an increased confidence in the future, which may have been the consequence of a successful defense against Alaric in 395. In any event, the new building appears to have remained in use throughout the entire sixth century, but excavation has revealed that Section MM was pretty much abandoned in the later sixth century, owing

doubtless to the irruptions of the Slavs and others.

Running parallel to the stylobate of the North Stoa, and about twenty-one feet from it, is the north wall of another structure, called by the excavators the "South Building," which was also built apparently in the later first century B.C. or early first century A.D. Into its foundation had been set the Praxiteles base—bearing the words, in well cut capitals, *Πραξιτέλης ἐποίησεν*—which apparently comes, according to Professor H. A. Thompson, from the Sanctuary of Demeter, reported by Pausanias to be inside the Dipylon. A street about twenty-one feet wide passed east and west between the North Stoa and the South Building; it was probably constructed at the same time as the buildings themselves. Like the North Stoa, the South Building seems also to have been destroyed in A.D. 267 and was subsequently rebuilt in whole or in part in the first years of the fifth century A.D.

Although the settlement in Section MM declined rapidly in the troubled decades that followed the death of Justinian, some habitation must have continued here, for the wells in this area have yielded pottery finds from the sixth century A.D. to the period in which the brown vitreous glaze begins. A habitation level somewhat higher than the late Roman levels contained some fragments of walls, with much the same orientation as the later Byzantine walls, but the fragments were not extensive enough to furnish a glimpse into a room or a house of this era. Beneath this level, much early brown-glaze ware was found. These houses, however, were largely destroyed by fire, as shown by the layer of ashes overlying their floor level. Coins and pottery were found beneath this habitation level. The disturbance of the lower filling at the time of excavation has made this level hazardous to date, but the coins suggest that the site is later than Constans II and may conceivably date from the later eighth and ninth centuries, the time of the Athenian empresses Irene and Theophano.

After the destruction of the brown-glaze settlement, Section MM was again built up, rather extensively, with private houses of a very good size although unelaborate in construction and ornamentation. The general plan of the area still followed that

of the earlier Byzantine and classical periods. Two streets ran north and south through the new settlement, parallel to each other and about seventy-two feet apart (i.e., c.22 m.). Since both these streets ran beyond the area of excavation, both north and south, and since no street running east and west was discovered for this period, the remains of three city blocks were thus recovered. "The plans of all are similar, utterly simple agglomerations of small rectangular rooms, the walls of which are seldom exactly parallel." Coins found beneath the floors of these rather spacious dwellings point to their having been built at the end of the eleventh century or so, the latest coins being mostly those of Alexius I Comnenus (1081-1118). These buildings were in their turn destroyed by fire. Coins found between the pre-fire and post-fire floors and in pits filled up at this time appear not to run later than the reign of Manuel I Comnenus (1143-80); the date of the fire thus appears to be about the middle of the twelfth century or a little later. We may have evidence here of the visit of the Norman King Roger II of Sicily to Athens in 1147, when he pillaged Corinth and Thebes and removed numerous silk workers.

It may be noted in this connection that the excavators unearthed in *MM* what they regarded as an "industrial establishment," with large vats and basins, which suggests the possibility of a shop for dyeing textiles, a place in which Roger II would have taken an immediate interest. The houses were, in any event, reconstructed immediately (after Roger II's departure?), but destruction soon came to them again, and a third floor level indicates still another reoccupation of this site. Nevertheless, enough of the old (second) walls remained for them to be repaired, and in some places flimsy new walls were built. Coins found below the top level suggest that the second destruction occurred at the beginning of the thirteenth century, probably caused by Leon Sgouros in 1203, or possibly by the forces of Othon de la Roche when they occupied Athens in October or November of 1204. (Coins of Manuel I Comnenus were especially numerous.) The uppermost floor level here, the third, was apparently laid down about the middle of the

thirteenth century or shortly thereafter, since some coins of Prince Guillaume de Villehardouin (1246-78) were found beneath it. A half century or so later Section *MM* was abandoned. "Practically everywhere," reads the excavator's report, "we found overlying the uppermost Byzantine floor a mass of débris from fallen walls: field stones, broken roof tiles, mud brick." This destruction may have been caused at the time of the Catalan occupation of the city in 1311. The Aragonese version of the *Chronicle of Morea* records that Duchess Jeanne began by defending the citadel against the invaders, but soon gave up the idea and surrendered the Acropolis to the Catalans, whose violent destruction and slaughter of the inhabitants in Thebes is notorious. After 1311 no buildings of any significance are found in this area.

The construction of the houses in all three periods of habitation in Section *MM* was simple. Field stones, with sometimes an ancient block, were set in mud and formed the foundations except where unusual weight overhead, or an earlier pit or well underneath, might require mortar to be used for additional strength. The upper walls were of smaller field stones. They were heavy enough to have carried a second storey, but the excavators found no evidence of stairs. Some wall plaster remained, a soft gray lime stucco. Hard-packed earth formed the floors in most houses of all three periods, although one room in a house in the westernmost of the three blocks, at the northwest corner of the section, did contain "traces of a well laid pebble mosaic which had later been patched with flat tiles and stone slabs." Cesspools disposed of the sewage. Storage *pithoi* were sunk into the floors of the houses, sometimes even three in one room; most of these *pithoi* belong to the first level of habitation, the "pre-fire period," and are of different types. Some of them were intended for the storage of oil and wine, others for the storage of grain and other dry substances. As early as the sixth century, probably owing to Slavic or Avaric irruptions, the ancient street running east and west had been abandoned in Section *MM*, but with the construction of the large Byzantine houses in this area two streets—now running north and south, as we have seen—were laid out for the use of

the inhabitants. These two streets were graveled and for some time were kept in good condition. Although in the final period of the settlement the western street became deeply rutted, the eastern street was continually graveled, and so its surface rose with the constantly rising floor level of the houses in the easternmost of the three blocks. This process went on for something under two centuries.

The Byzantine settlement of which such interesting remains were excavated in Section *MM* extended some distance to the south and more or less covered the Hill of Colonus, upon which stands the majestic temple to Hephaestus, the so-called Theseum, for the beauty of which Mr. Lancaster finds it very easy to moderate his enthusiasm. To the north of the temple the extensive remains of several Byzantine houses from the tenth century to the twelfth and thirteenth were discovered, while the site bore abundant witness to fourteenth-century and even later construction. By joining together the plans of the Byzantine buildings on the Hill of Colonus, both to the north and south of the temple, with those of Section *MM*, regular "city blocks are traceable," according to the excavator, the longest of which was about 250 feet. The houses in the area to the north of the Theseum measured about twenty-six by fifty-two feet (8 m. $\times$ 16 m.). Some of them had a second storey. *Pithoi* or storage jars were found, as almost always, in some rooms; bedrooms, traces of a hearth or kitchen, a paved court with a latrine, and the like were revealed in excavation. Nevertheless, "everything points to the greatest simplicity." The walls were of rubble, over which sun-dried brick was laid; their thickness and style varied in accordance with their period. Sewage was disposed of by stone channels running into the street, as in Section *MM* and as, in fact, it still is in some houses in the Plaka or so-called Turkish quarter in present-day Athens. The floors were of packed earth. The thresholds indicate that these houses had double doors, locked with a vertical crossbar.

The history of the area on the Hill of Colonus which lies to the north of the Theseum (i.e., Section *AA*) may be divided into some four periods of habitation. After signs of destruction in

the later sixth century A.D., perhaps owing to Slavic irruptions, there come remains of some later houses, chiefly of the ninth and tenth centuries. Next, there was much building here in the early eleventh century, and the settlement was maintained without apparent difficulty throughout the twelfth century. Wider walls than previously were built in the eleventh and twelfth centuries; the blocks used were large, often classical remains squared and cut down, which were put at the corners and in other strategic places. The walls were sometimes surfaced with mortar, which was not, however, used as a basic building material. There was a fair amount of reconstruction during this period, but the general location of later houses remained much the same as that of the earlier ones. This second period came to an end, most probably, with the attack upon Athens by Leon Sgouros in 1203 or by the Burgundians in 1204. "After a destruction of violent character," reads the excavator's report, "the houses were in part reconstituted and reoccupied." Now there was much alteration of the previous plan: walls were cut into earlier floors, some rooms were made larger, and the eleventh- and twelfth-century débris was leveled off and packed down to form floors for the houses of Athenians living under the Burgundian régime, which corresponds more or less with the third period of habitation discernible on this site. "Abundant yellow-glazed, incised, and sgraffito wares indicate for this a date in the early 13th century," but the building of the third period was "all fairly slovenly," which is not surprising, for Latin wealth and the family and followers of the De la Roche were concentrated in Thebes at that time. Final destruction and the virtual abandonment of this site by the inhabitants are believed to have taken place in the fourteenth or the fifteenth century. The archaeological and historical records agree throughout with most satisfactory unanimity as far as this site is concerned. There were, of course, several episodes of considerable violence during this period, the last of the four periods noted above, and this section (i.e., 11) probably ceased to be a thickly settled area owing to one of the later sieges of the city—1331, 1379, 1387-88, 1397, or 1402-3—to which attention is called elsewhere in this

paper. Still later, a Turkish road was built through this section, the construction of which may have removed some of the evidences of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century habitation, but after the close of the Catalan era there was probably very little, if any, real settlement here.

For convenience, and by way of summary, the four periods of Byzantine habitation in Section 111 may now be brought into relation with certain well-known facts in Byzantine and Athenian history. It is convenient to use this particular site for summary; other sites, however, could be equally well employed for the same purpose. The first period extends from some time after the later sixth century A.D. until the early eleventh century, when much building took place, obviously owing to the revived prosperity of Athens, which resulted from the restoration of Byzantine power on the Aegean. In a city like Athens, so close to the sea, there was doubtless an increase of population when Crete was recovered from the Moslems (in 961) and when the emperors Nicephorus II Phocas (963-69) and John Tzimiscas (969-76) pushed back the boundaries of the Byzantine Empire and guaranteed the safety of Greek vessels on the Aegean Sea.

The researches of Professors G. A. Soteriou and D. Gr. Kampouroglous would seem to suggest even an Arabic occupation of Athens some time during the first half of the tenth century, but all this the naval and military victories of Nicephorus Phocas and John Tzimiscas must have brought to an abrupt end. This new security from the raids of Moslem pirates, so notoriously destructive in the islands of the Cyclades and the mainland coasts of Greece during the ninth and tenth centuries, now resulted in some expansion of the city outside the narrow circuit of the walls north of the Acropolis. Some further confidence probably came to Athens as a result of the visit of Basil II Bulgaroctonus to the city in 1018, when he made his famous dedications, after the spectacular military liquidation of the first Bulgarian Empire, in the Parthenon, then the Church of the Panagia Atheniotissa. It is no wonder that there was much building in Athens in the later tenth and earlier eleventh centuries. It is what we should expect,

and it is what the archaeologists have found. Perhaps it is not unfair to emphasize, too, that the facts of Byzantine history have not by and large suggested the dates for the rise and fall of Byzantine habitation sites in Athens. Coins, pottery, building materials and the like have furnished the archaeologists with their evidence for dating; the excavation reports rarely contain references to facts or events in Byzantine history; the dating of the successive levels of construction and destruction has in almost every case naturally evolved from the archaeological evidence. Almost ironically, the excavator's innocence of medieval Greek history more than once struck me, as I read the excavation notebooks in the American Agora Records, as not the least valuable aspect of his scientific preparation, for he was thus not likely to impose some convincing and intelligible chronology upon the history of the site he was digging, by arranging his finds in a framework of knowledge externally acquired. The archaeologist, however, quite literally unearths new and irrefutable sources, more dependable in their way than, say, some of the wild and prejudiced statements in monastic chronicles (which cannot be checked by other evidence) upon which sometimes equally untrustworthy statements have been made by modern historians both for and against, for only two examples, the Iconoclasts and the Patriarch Photius.

The second period comprises the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when there was a fair amount of building of rather mediocre type in Athens. To the eleventh century, however, belong those fine little churches, still perfectly preserved, of the Sts. Theodore, the Kapnikarea, and the Old Metropolis, and for the later twelfth century we have the descriptions of conditions in Athens from the pen of the Metropolitan Michael Choniates, whose views of the city of his time are consistent with those of the excavators, who have uncovered the remains of several buildings that must have been familiar to him. Some further building during the third period, i.e., the early thirteenth century, could probably have been expected under the lord Othon de la Roche, who is known to have been rather an easy taskmaster and a fair ruler

in Athens. During the later fourteenth or the earlier fifteenth century, the fourth and last period in the history of this particular area, settlement virtually ceased here in a "general final destruction and desertion," for the reasons we have already noted.

Despite a good deal of compression and also of suppression, this paper has become longer than I had intended. As I reread what I have written up to now, questions occur to me. Why not include some of the material which has been omitted and omit some which has been included? There is still sufficient time to make such changes. I forbear to do so only because I suspect that further consideration will convince me, as it has done before, that the right selection was made in the first place. However this may be, I have omitted, among many other things, much interesting information about the medieval Acropolis; about the monastery of the Hephaesteum, "St. George in the Cerameicus," and the buildings connected with it, which seem to have been destroyed in 1203 or 1204; the Christian graves in and around the Hephaesteum and their contents; the Byzantine buildings found in Sections Rho and Sigma, which are east and south of Eta, in the northern part of the Agora; more about the large numbers of Byzantine and Latin coins and some very interesting pieces of Byzantine pottery; and, finally, about the Klepsydra, the famous spring high up on the northwest slope of the Acropolis, which has an intriguing and sometimes important history from the Neolithic and Mycenaean beginnings of Athenian history down to some very dramatic episodes, in 1822 and 1826, in the Greek Revolution.

The justly celebrated Michael Choniates, metropolitan of Athens from 1182 to 1204, has reminded us, like Ecclesiastes, that one generation passes away and another comes, but the earth abides forever. Athens also abides forever. It was largely the magic of a revered name that transformed the complete ruin that the new Greek government found in 1833-34 into a great modern city, and the tourist of today is singularly ignorant or unimaginative to whom the reflection does not come as his hand touches a column of the Parthenon, that perhaps the hand of Plato once

rested there, too. Often I have thought, during many hours spent by myself upon the Acropolis, of a moving passage in a letter which the Metropolitan Michael once wrote to his friend Michael Autoreianos, in after years the patriarch of the Nicene empire in exile: "We may still enjoy [here in Attica] the same loveliness of the countryside, the temperate climate, the fruit-raising, the fertile land, Hymettus rich in honey, the calm Piraeus, Eleusis of the mysteries, the horse-ridden plain of the Marathonian warriors, the same Acropolis, too, where I sit now, as I write, and seem to bestride the very peak of heaven. . . ." ⁸

⁸ Spyridon P. Lampros, ed., *The Extant Works of Michael Acominatus Choniates* (in Greek; 2 vols.; Athens: 1879-1880), *Ep.* 8, 3 (Vol. II, p. 12).

II

ON THE RAIDS OF THE MOSLEMS IN THE AEGEAN IN THE NINTH AND TENTH CENTURIES AND THEIR ALLEGED OCCUPATION OF ATHENS

THE route by sea from Constantinople to Athens and the Peloponnesus was exposed, in the ninth and earlier tenth centuries, to constant attack by the Arabs, who went everywhere their ships could carry them. Byzantine territory was harassed, and the sea lanes rendered unsafe, from Sicily and southern Italy to Thessalonica and Constantinople itself. Despite the great increase in Byzantine naval strength throughout the second half of the ninth century, the Arabs caused ceaseless anxiety and enjoyed almost ubiquitous success. If the expedition of the protospatharius Theoctistus Bryennius, in the middle of the ninth century, went far towards restoring Byzantine rule in the Peloponnesus,¹ the reassertion of Byzantine naval supremacy in the Aegean Sea was not to come for more than a century.

The fact is that the Aegean world was harried incessantly throughout the entire ninth century by Syrian and Cretan Arabs, and that the piracies of the African and Sicilian Arabs also reached the shores of Greece and the islands. In 805, or possibly in 807, Saracens from Africa had assisted the Slavs in the famous siege of Patras when the city was only saved from certain destruction by the miraculous in-

tervention of St. Andrew.² The Moslem conquest of Crete was a most important event in the contemporaneous history of Athens. In 826 a band of Spanish Saracen refugees set out from Egypt, where they had spent an eventful decade or so, on a plundering expedition to the Byzantine island of Crete. Pleased with their rich success they returned in the spring of 827 on a second expedition under the redoubtable Abu Hafs, who was soon to found on Crete the town of Candia (the modern Herakleion); they overran the island completely, a valuable gain for Islam and a serious loss for Christendom, because Saracen corsairs thereafter harried with merciless persistence the Greek islands of the Aegean.³

Crete remained in Moslem hands, as is well known, despite several Byzantine attempts at its recovery, for more than a century and a quarter, until its reconquest in the year 961 by Nicephorus Phocas, who became Emperor soon thereafter (963-969). Many facts are known concerning these piratical raids of the Arabs, and some of them are quite relevant to the history of Athens. Thus, in the time of Basil I the Mace-

¹ Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, 50, ed. Bonn, p. 221, and ed. Gy. Moravcsik and trans. R. J. H. Jenkins, Budapest, 1949, p. 232, and cf., in general, A. Bon, *Le Péloponnèse byzantin jusqu'en 1204*, Paris, 1951, pp. 47-48, 74, et alibi.

² Cf. K. M. Setton, "The Bulgars in the Balkans and the Occupation of Corinth in the Seventh Century," *Speculum*, 25 (1950) 513 ff., with refs.

³ The Greek sources are: Jos. Genesius, *Basileiai, II (de Michaelē II)*, ed. Bonn, pp. 46-49 (and in Genesius' time the Arabs still held Crete, "from which they launch attacks upon Roman territories" [p. 49]): The-

donian, the Emir of Tarsus attacked the Byzantine fortress of Euripus, on the island of Euboea, dangerously close to Athens; the Moslems appeared with a fleet of thirty great warships, but the *strategos* of the theme of Hellas, one Oeniates by name, gathered together men from the entire theme, certainly including Athenians, with whom he manned the threatened walls, and successfully defended the fortress against a tremendous Moslem assault. Oeniates, in fact, succeeded in destroying most of the enemies' fleet and forces.⁴

ophanes Continuatus, *Chronogr.*, II, 21 ff. (Bonn, pp. 73 ff.); Geo. Mon. Continuatus [i.e. Simeon Magister], *Vitae imp. recent., de Michaele II*, 9 (Bonn, p. 789); Simeon, called Magister, *Chronogr., de Mich.* II, 3-4 (Bonn, pp. 621-624). Cf. José Ant. Condé (d. 1820), *Hist. de la Dominación de los Arabes en España [Sacada de varios manuscritos y memorias árabigas]*, I (Barcelona, 1844), 250-251; Gust. Fr. Hertzberg, *Gesch. d. byzant. u. d. osman. Reiches*, Berlin, 1883, pp. 128-129. See especially the valuable account in A. A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*: vol. I, *La Dynastie d'Amorium* (820-867), trans. H. Grégoire, M. Canard, C. Nallino, and E. Honigsmann [Corpus Bruxellense Historiae Byzantinae, I], Brussels, 1935, pp. 51-61, esp. pp. 54-55 (Russian edition, *Bizantiŭ i Araby*, I [1900], 46-50), and cf. the old account of J. B. Bury, *Eastern Roman Empire*, 1912, pp. 287-291 ff. Some scholars date the Saracen occupation of Crete in 828 (as E. W. Brooks, "The Arab Occupation of Crete," *English Hist. Review*, 28 [1913] 431-443, esp. p. 432, who prefers the evidence of the Patriarch Dionysius, as given in Michael the Syrian, to the chronology of Kindi); the general problem of the date is reviewed by J. B. Papadopoulos, *Crete under the Saracens (824-961)* [in Greek], Athens, 1948, pp. 58-60 ff.

About the same time as the Moslem occupation of Crete, the Aghlabids of Kairwan began, in the summer of 827, their long struggle for the island of Sicily, which finally became, for the most part, a Moslem possession when Syracuse fell to them in May of 878 (Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, pp. 66 ff.; Bury, *Eastern Roman Empire*, pp. 294-308, and P. K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, London, 1937, p. 451). All through these years Sicilian Arab pirates were, of course, a menace to ships going from Greece to Italy, as when some sailors in Corinth were loathe to take St. Gregory the Decapolite to Rhegium for fear of Sicilian Arab pirates (Fr. Dvornik, ed., *Vie de Saint Grégoire le Décapolite* [Travaux publiés par l'Institut d'Etudes slaves, V], Paris, 1926, sec. II, p. 55).

⁴Theophanes Cont., *Chronogr.*, V (de Basilio Macedone), 59 (Bonn, pp. 298-299); Geo. Cedrenus, *Hist. compendium* (Bonn, II, 225-226).

The Continuator of Theophanes also describes an extended attack by the Moslems of Crete, apparently in 879, upon the western coast of the Peloponnesus "and the further islands." A patrician named Nicetas Ooryphas, then *drungarius*, was sent against them. Ooryphas reached Cenchreae, the eastern harbor of Corinth, in a few days, and was promptly informed of Moslem depredations at Methone (Modon), Pylos, Patras, and the region around Corinth. Believing it unwise to try to sail all the way around the Peloponnesus, Ooryphas had his ships drawn over the isthmus, from the Saronic Gulf into the Corinthian water, at night, and launched an entirely unexpected attack upon the terrified Moslems, some of whose ships he burned; others sank. Some of the Moslems were put to the sword, others were drowned, their commander himself being killed; of the Moslem captives some were subjected to tortures, especially those who refused Christian baptism. Shortly after this, in 861, an African fleet of sixty warships invaded Byzantine southern Italy, and plundered and took captives as far as Cephalonia and Zante. The Emperor Basil sent the admiral Nasar, the successor of Nicetas Ooryphas, against them with a large fleet of triremes, biremes, and lighter vessels. Nasar quickly reached Methone with favoring winds. After some delay, owing to the desertion of many of his men, who were severely punished, Nasar restored discipline in his fleet, with the aid of one John Creticus, the *strategos* of the Peloponnesus. At length Nasar was also able to launch an unexpected night attack upon the Moslems, who were slain in large numbers. After the battle, Nasar dedicated such enemy ships as had escaped destruction to the church of Methone, as a thanksgiving to God, and hastened to send news to the Emperor of this stirring victory of Byzantine arms in Greece.⁵

⁵Theoph. Cont., *Chronogr.*, V, 61-63 (Bonn, pp. 300-304); Geo. Cedrenus, *Hist. compend.* (Bonn, II, 227-230); and cf. the notice in P̄sd. Phrantzes, *Chron.*, I, 33 (Bonn, pp. 96-97), 34 (pp. 103-105); cf. Bon, *Le Péloponnèse byzantin*, pp. 77, 188, no. 14; and on the Byzantine navy at this time, cf. J. B. Bury, *The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century* (1911), pp. 109-110, and A. R. Lewis, *Naval Power and Trade* (1951), pp. 141-142, 157.

There were other times and places in Greece, however, in which the Moslems had their way, and their way was death and destruction. Thus in 826 invaders from Africa seized the island of Aegina, so close to Athens, and killed the husband of S. Athanasia, whose parents had forced her into marriage only sixteen days before.⁶ News of the proximity of the Moslems must have caused consternation in Athens, for their raid had been sufficient to leave Aegina "deserted and forgotten."⁷ In the year 826-7, when Crete and Sicily fell to the Moslems, they also invaded Aetolia and landed in force on the island of Lesbos, where their sinister memory long persisted.⁸ They plied the sea lanes of the Mediterranean almost at will. About 893 they destroyed three monasteries on the island of Samos;⁹ in 896 they captured the ancient city of Demetrias on the Gulf of Pagasae (Volo);¹⁰ and six years later they seized Thessalonica, and sacked the second city of the Empire (in July of 904).¹¹ During this period of their strength and

enterprise the Arabs also exacted tribute of the inhabitants of Naxos;¹² ruled over those of Patmos, and made life desperate for them;¹³ and left the island of Paros such a wilderness, as a result of their raids, that hunters went over from Euboea after the deer and wild goats which became plentiful on the island.¹⁴ We are

Hopf, "Griechenland," in Ersch and Gruber's *Encyclopädie*, vol. 85 (1867) 122-123; and see especially the learned article of Adolf Struck, "Die Eroberung Thessalonikes durch die Sarazenen im Jahre 904," *BZ* 14 (1905) 535-562. (Thessalonica was taken by the Saracens in 904, by the Normans in 1185, and by the Turks in 1430.) Tafrali, *op. cit.*, chiefly summarizes the account of John Cameniates, *De excidio Thessalonicensi*, ed. Bonn, 1838, pp. 487 ff.

¹² John Cameniates, *De excidio Thessalonicensi*, 70 (Bonn, p. 583); Vasiliev, *Viz. i Araby*, II, 134.

¹³ John Cameniates, *De exc. Thessalon.*, 68-69 (Bonn, pp. 581-583).

¹⁴ See the most interesting ninth-century life *De S. Theoctiste Lesbia in insula Paro*, II, in *Acta SS.*, Nov. tom. IV (Brussels, 1925), p. 228. The *Life of S. Theoctiste of Lesbos* was written by one Nicetas Magister, who was sent by the Emperor Leo VI as an envoy to the Cretan Arabs. Nicetas was forced to break his voyage, for a brief while, at the island of Paros, where he visited a once beautiful church of the Virgin which the Arabs had destroyed. Here he met an old monk named Symeon, who had lived on the island by himself for more than thirty years. Symeon celebrated the divine service for Nicetas and his companions, and then told them the story of S. Theoctiste, as he had heard it some years before from a member of a hunting party which had come over from Euboea to Paros. The hunter had met S. Theoctiste at the very church where Nicetas and his companions had met Symeon, and she had told him the story of her capture by Cretan pirates, years before, when they had taken her island home of Lesbos. On their return voyage the Cretans had landed on Paros, where S. Theoctiste had escaped into the woods and remained in hiding until the departure of the Arabs. She had been there now some thirty years. S. Theoctiste requested the hunter to bring her the eucharist when he returned to the island next year to hunt. He did so, and then went hunting. When he returned to the church, however, to bid her goodbye, he found her dead. He buried the holy woman, first cutting off one hand as a relic, and then going back to his boat, he gave orders to set sail, but the boat remained motionless, held fast in its haven. The hunter understood that God had been angered by his barbarous acquisition of the relic, and so went back to the church to bury the hand with the body of S. Theoctiste, after which the ship was miraculously released from its divine anchorage. The hunter then revealed what had happened. His com-

⁶ *De S. Athanasia vidua ac hegumena*, cap. 1, in *Acta SS.*, Aug. tom. III (Paris and Rome, 1867), p. 170; cf. Ed. Kurtz, "Des Klerikers Gregorios Bericht über das Leben, Wunderthaten und Translation der hl. Theodora von Thessalonich, nebst der Metaphrase des Johannes Staurakios," in the *Mémoires de l'Académie impériale des sciences de St.-Petersbourg* [Zapiski imp. Akad. Nauk], 8th ser., Hist.-philol. cl., vol. VI, no. I (1902), p. 3.

⁷ A. A. Vasiliev, *Vizantiia i Araby* [Zapiski istorikofilologicheskago Fakul'teta Imperatorskago S.-Petersburgskago Universiteta, chast LXVI], II (1902), p. 134, n. 5; Chrysos, Papadopoulos, in the Greek periodical *Theologia*, 13 (1935) 195-196.

⁸ For the Saracen attack upon Aetolia and the western coast of Greece, see Constantine Acropolita, *Life of S. Barbarus* [in Greek], ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 'Ανάλεκτα 'Ιεροσολυμιτικῆς Σταχυολογίας, vol. I (St. Petersburg, 1891), secc. 3-4, pp. 408-409. On the invasion of Lesbos, see *De S. Theoctiste Lesbia in insula Paro*, 15, in *Acta SS.*, Nov. tom. IV (Brussels, 1925), p. 229.

⁹ Vasiliev, *Vizantiia i Araby*, II (1902), 134-135, with refs., and cf. *Traditio*, 5 (1947) 175.

¹⁰ Vasiliev, *Vizantiia i Araby*, II, 135-136. Vasiliev dates the fall of Demetrias in 902; but D. Gr. Kampourougous, *The Capture of Athens by the Saracens* [in Greek], Athens, 1934, pp. 126-128, has shown that the correct date is 896.

¹¹ Vasiliev, *Viz. i Araby*, II, 141-153, where the sources are collected and analyzed; O. Tafrali, *Thessalonique des origines au XIV^e siècle*, Paris, 1919, pp. 143-156;



informed by the historian Genesius that later on, in the time of the Emperor Leo VI the Wise, a Cretan corsair named Babel was driven by a storm upon the shore of the Peloponnesus when Constantine Tessarakontapechys was *strategos* of the southern theme.¹⁵

Moslem raids caused very serious social dislocations both in the Greek islands and on the mainland. All the inhabitants of Aegina were thus forced to leave their island about 896, because the Moslems descended too frequently upon them. They sought refuge and, we are told, established new homes in Attica, the Peloponnesus, Boeotia, and in other places.¹⁶ Among these refugees were the father and mother of St. Luke the Younger (of Stiris), who finally settled in Castoria, near Delphi in Phocis, where St. Luke was probably born. Although we are not concerned here with St. Luke's interesting career, we must note that half a century after his parents' flight from Aegina, St. Luke was in his turn obliged to flee from the Moslems, in 943, this time from a place called Kalamion (Kala-

mos?), presumably in Attica.¹⁷ Apparently much of St. Luke's life, like that of his contemporaries, was passed under the dark shadow of Moslem attack until peace came to him with death in the year 953.

Although the Arabs descended upon the Peloponnesus in rapid raids, they apparently never settled there for any appreciable period, as they are believed by some scholars to have done in Attica, the evidence for this belief being some pieces of Arabic inscriptions and quite a number of architectural fragments bearing Cufic designs. We come now to the alleged Arabic occupation of Athens. The well-known Cufic designs on certain Athenian (and other) churches of the eleventh and twelfth centuries were probably inspired by such materials, which appear to have been rather abundant in Athens toward the close of the tenth century, conceivably the work of Moslem craftsmen who lived in the city during some brief period of Arabic occupation or were imported for building purposes in the late tenth century after the Byzantine recovery of Crete.¹⁸ The historical record would suggest that the most likely period of the Arabic occupation, if any, must have come in the late ninth or early tenth century, during the reign of the Emperor Leo VI (886-912), whose military and naval ventures against the Arabs were notoriously unsuccessful. It is impossible to say, however, whether the Moslems in Athens lived there as conquerors or as captives.

The general question of the Moslems in

panions then turned the boat around, and went back to Paros, but they found that the body of S. Theoctiste had vanished from its grave! Such was the story which the hunter had told Symeon, who now told it to Nicetas, whom he bound by oath to commit it to writing; Nicetas has done this in such charming fashion that the present writer has in his turn felt bound also to pass it on to such of his readers as have the courage to read long footnotes.

¹⁵ Jos. Genesius, *Basileiai*, II (Bonn, pp. 47-48).

¹⁶ *Vita S. Lucae Junioris*, in J.-P. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, CXI, 441A, 444A: Οἱ δὲ γε τούτου [i.e. τοῦ θελοῦ Λουκά] πρόγονοι ἐξ Ἀττικῆς ὤρμηται τῆς νήσου . . . Οἱ τὰς συνεχεῖς ἐφόδους τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀγαρ οὐ φορητὰς εἶναι νομίσαντες, αὐτοὶ τε καὶ οἰκήτορες πάντες, τὸ φίλον τῆς πατρίδος ἔδαφος πρὸς βίαν ἀπολιπόντες, μεταράσται γίνονται καὶ πρὸς διαφόρους ἕκαστοι διασπείρονται πόλεις . . . καὶ οἱ μὲν τὴν Κέρκρος, οἱ δὲ τὴν τοῦ Πέλοπος, ἕτεροι τὴν τοῦ Κάδμου, καὶ ἄλλας ἄλλοι καταλαβόντες, ἐν αὐταῖς ἔχειν ἡγαγκάζοντο τὰς οἰκήσεις. On St. Luke the Younger, of Stiris (Steiriotes), see Chrys. Papadopoulos, in the Greek periodical *Theologia*, 13 (1935) 193-223, and *Contributions* [Συμβολαὶ] to the History of Monastic Life in Greece: I, *St. Luke the Younger* [ὁ Νέος], Athens, 1935; Chris. Zonas, *Βίος καὶ πολιτεία . . . Λουκά τοῦ Νέου*, Athens, 1935; D. Gr. Kampouroglous, *The Capture of Athens by the Saracens* [in Greek], Athens, 1934, pp. 81-82, and cf. N. A. Bees, "The Monastery of St. Luke of Stiris" [in Greek], in *BNJ* II (1934-35) 179 ff.

¹⁷ *Vita S. Lucae*, in PG CXI, 461A, Kalamion being given as Kalabion in Migne. The late Professor Kampouroglous has identified the place as Kalamos in Attica (*The Capture of Athens by the Saracens*, Athens, 1934, pp. 81, 132), which seems very reasonable. It was this attack upon Attica in 943 which Kampouroglous at first believed led to the depredation and brief occupation of Athens by the Saracens, and which he claimed is the episode described in the so-called "lament of Athens" first published by Destounis in 1881: Kampouroglous later changed his mind as to the date of the alleged Moslem occupation of Athens, preferring the period 896-902, i.e. just after the attacks before which the parents of St. Luke first fled from Aegina to Phocis (896), on all of which see *infra*.

¹⁸ Cf. the instructive note in Bon, *Le Péloponnèse byzantin*, p. 78, n. 1.

Athens involves immediately the problem of the interpretation of the so-called "Lament of Athens." From a sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century manuscript in the former Imperial Public Library of St. Petersburg (no. CCII), Gabriel Destounis published in 1881 a sort of "lament" (*θρῆνος*) in sixty-nine jog-trot "political" verses. According to this poem the "Persians" invaded Attica, burst into the city of Athens, killed the priests, together with the wise old men and leaders of the community, destroyed the houses with all their contents, polluted the churches, defiled the icons, and ravished the women and boys (vv. 19-25):

"... and Athens subsides and groans and weeps,
and simply cannot endure it" (v. 26).

In the poem Athens is represented as a woman grieving. Destounis dated the poem in the second half of the fifteenth century, and expressed the belief that its unknown author was probably an ecclesiastic. The poem is written in popular Greek, but by a person of some education. It rather resembles certain laments of the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries on the fall of Constantinople and of Trebizond, the Rhodian plague of 1498, and the like. Although some scholars sought to connect the lament published by Destounis with the Turkish attack upon Athens and occupation of the lower city in 1397, Destounis, Lampros, Gregorovius, Krumbacher, Heisenberg, and others have dated the poem in the second half of the fifteenth century, and stated that it describes the fall of Athens to the Turks in 1456. So the matter stood for some years until the Greek historian of Athens, the late D. Gr. Kampouroglous, took up the problem of the lament again.

It was the opinion of Kampouroglous that the destructive seizure of Athens described in the lament is not the Turkish occupation of 1456, but actually the capture of Athens by the Saracens in the later ninth or earlier tenth century.¹⁹ For some time Kampouroglous be-

lieved that the Life of St. Luke the Younger of Stiris supplied convincing grounds for dating the Saracenic capture of Athens precisely in the year 943.²⁰ Later on, however, Kampouroglous decided that the Saracens must have taken Athens about 896, and lost it about 902; Athens was thus in Moslem hands during the same period that they held Demetrias on the Gulf of Volo, from which they were expelled by Nicephorus Phocas, the *strategos* of Thrace. Kampouroglous observed that, although for the years just preceding and following 896-902 dated Greek inscriptions have been found, no dated inscriptions have so far come to light for these six years.²¹ Kampouroglous thus believed that the author of the lament lived long after the events which he recounts, for the language and style of the lament appear to date from the later fifteenth century. For reasons which need not concern us Kampouroglous was also certain that the author of the lament was not an Athenian, contrary to the opinion of Gregorovius. Among Kampouroglous' many arguments for seeing in the lament for Athens evidence of a Moslem capture of the city in the later ninth century, rather than a description of the events of 1456 when the Ottoman Turks took over, he noted that verse 48 of the lament refers to the fact that the peasants of Sepolia, the district northwest of Athens, "had lived in freedom, with great joy" (*τοὺς ζήσαντας εὐλείθερα μετὰ χαρᾶς μεγάλης*) before their enslavement by their "Persian" conquerors: but how could those who lived as serfs [*δουλοπάροικοι*] under the yoke of the hated Latins, asks Kampouroglous, be regarded as free men for whom life contained great joy? Thus the events described in the lament must precede the establishment of the

¹⁹ Kampouroglous published his views in fourteen notes which appeared in the Greek periodical *Hestia* from 14 July to 25 September, 1928; the contents of these

notes are summarized in Kampouroglous' book on 'Η Ἀλωσις τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ὑπὸ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν, Athens, 1934, pp. 52 ff. (This book is hereafter cited as the *Capture of Athens*.) For the text of the "Lament of Athens," see the *Capture of Athens*, pp. 16-17 and 154-155, with a photostatic reproduction of the manuscript.

²⁰ *Capture of Athens*, esp. pp. 81-82, 131-133.

²¹ *Capture of Athens*, pp. 170-171.

first Latin régime in 1204.²² Be all this as it may, there is better evidence than that which Kampouroglous has adduced for the residence of Saracens in Athens in the later ninth or earlier tenth century, for Arabic inscriptions on native marble have been found in Athens.

The Arabic finds in Athens are divisible into two general types: 1) true Arabic inscriptions, of which some half dozen are now known, together with certain genuine Cufic designs, and 2) later Byzantine imitations of such Cufic designs. The inscriptions thus far found in Athens may themselves be divided into two classes: 1) three fragments of what was apparently once a rather long text, possibly on a mosque built upon the remains of the ancient Asclepium, and 2) some simple texts or brief phrases carved on pieces of marble or stamped on bricks, employed as architectural decorations. Let us begin with the inscriptions from the Asclepium, assuming that we are in fact dealing with a single text or rather a single layout on the wall.²³ Strzygowski found the first piece in 1888 on the south slope of the Acropolis, near the Asclepium. It is a three-line fragment said by some scholars to be too small to read, but appears to belong, according to Max van Berchem, to the eleventh or twelfth century; to Strzygowski this find seemed to furnish evidence "of the presence of Moslems in Athens at this time."²⁴ The fragment in question is cut in Hymettic marble, and is now preserved in the Byzantine Museum in Athens (no. 313); it was recovered some years ago from the so-called Tower of the

Winds in the Roman Agora, where it had been transferred for safekeeping from the Asclepium. From the region of the latter building two other pieces have been found of much the same general character as the first. One of these, a triangular fragment, now in the Byzantine Museum (no. 315), has also been stated to be too small to read.²⁵ The second is much more legible, however, and is in a style of writing common from the ninth to the eleventh century; it was found in 1877 in Lampert's excavation of the Asclepium; the second and longer of its two lines was said by the French orientalist Combe to contain the phrase "... this mosque was founded. . . ." ²⁶ This reading was later rejected, however, as "false and fantastic": the three inscriptions were said to be, in fact, invocations from the Koran while it was also pointed out that the religious custom of the Moslems expressly forbids putting upon the walls of a mosque any historical record of its foundation. Koranic invocations, however, such as those written on the small pieces of native marble from the Asclepium were invariably inscribed on the walls of mosques; so that, rather curiously, Combe's conclusion that the establishment of a mosque was attested by the fragment he believed he had read was confirmed despite the inaccuracy of his reading.²⁷

Two short decorative texts are also preserved in the Byzantine Museum (nos. 312 and 314). The first, which once formed a part of the small collection in the so-called Theseum, is on Pentelic marble; it is a true Arabic inscription, but is in a highly formalized style, with flourishes known as "Cufic palmettes," characteristic of

²² *Capture of Athens*, p. 74. Kampouroglous appears to believe that there was little to choose from between the Latins and the Turks, but in fact the rule of the Acciajuoli in Athens was very light, and in contrast with that of the Turks could indeed have seemed in retrospect as a period of relative freedom when life was in fact joyful.

²³ See, in general, the excellent article of Geo. Soteriou, "Arabic Decorations on the Byzantine Monuments of Greece" [in Greek], in the *BNJ* II (1934-35) 233-269, with very brief summary in German.

²⁴ Josef Strzygowski, in Max van Berchem and J. Strzygowski, *Amida* [Diarbekr in Mesopotamia], Heidelberg, 1910, p. 372, where fig. 324 is a very careless drawing of a two-line inscription, one line of the original having been omitted, together with some letters from the other two lines: see Geo. Soteriou, in *BNJ* II (1934-35) 235-236, fig. 4.

²⁵ Soteriou, *BNJ* II (1934-35) 236-237, fig. 5, also, of course, of Hymettic marble.

²⁶ Soteriou, "Arabic Remains in Athens in Byzantine Times," in the *Proceedings* [*Praktika*] of the *Academy of Athens*, IV (1929), reprinted in Kampouroglous, *Capture of Athens*, pp. 160-161; Soteriou, *BNJ* II (1934-35) 236-237, fig. 6. The piece thus read by Combe was in the Acropolis Museum in 1916, but could not be found in the 1930's.

²⁷ See Kampouroglous, *Capture of Athens*, pp. 178-181, and cf. Soteriou, *BNJ* II (1934-35) 266-267. (The new reading was made by Hamdullah, the Mufti of Constantinople, who dates the inscriptions in the eleventh century.)

the eleventh century and later.²⁸ There are similar Cufic inscriptions on ceramic plaques set into the walls of the church of the Sts. Theodore, where they alternate with decorative plaques of Cufic design with which they harmonize readily to form a running band; the form of writing is simple Cufic, without palmettes, and on one plaque the Arabist Combe read, with much hesitation, the words "power of God."²⁹ If this reading is correct it is curious and interesting, because monograms of Christ were frequently stamped on the bricks which went into the construction of Christian churches.³⁰ So far we have noted only true Arabic inscriptions; they appear to date from the tenth and eleventh centuries.

There are numerous other memorials of a Moslem past in Athens. In 1888 Strzygowski found, in the Asclepieum, a plaque with an upright cross and a broad band of Cufic design along its top border,³¹ and mention should be made of the remarkable lion plaque, with its vertical borders of Cufic palmettes, which to Strzygowski "so durch und durch mesopotamisch aussieht," removed from the Acropolis to the National Museum in 1889, and now in the Byzantine Museum.³² There are Cufic designs and other Arabic ornamentation on the walls of the church of the Sts. Theodore, as we have seen, and the same is true of the Kapnikarea on Hermes St., the Holy Apostles at the foot of the Acropolis, and the Russian Church of the "Virgin of Lycodemus" (St. Nicodemus) on Philhellene St. It is well known that there are animal reliefs of apparently eastern inspiration carved on four plaques set into the façade of the

Little Metropolis in Athens.³³ These five churches are all believed to date from the eleventh century. There is Cufic design on a frieze fragment formerly in the collection at the monastery of Daphni, outside of Athens.³⁴ There are animal designs of apparently eastern origin on the frieze of the main apse in the church at Skripù, built in 873-4 in Boeotia.³⁵ There is Cufic ornamentation on the sarcophagus, once improperly regarded as that of the Emperor Romanus II (959-963), at the monastery of St. Luke of Stiris (near Livadia), as well as on the exterior of the east apses of the smaller church at the monastery.³⁶ Such Cufic designs, well described in German as *Schriftornamente*, are found in a large number of churches throughout Greece — at Corinth, at Chonika, Merbaka, Ligourio, and elsewhere in the Argolid, at Mistra and Kalamata in the southern Peloponnese, as well as at Amphissa and Arta in continental Greece, as far north as Kastoria in Macedonia, and even on the island of Corcyra. But it must be remembered that such Cufic designs and ornaments are found chiefly in Greece, rather rarely on Mt. Athos and in other Byzantine territories, and almost never in Constantinople.³⁷ To some extent this popularity of Cufic design may be one effect of the earlier iconoclastic struggles upon Byzantine art in Greece. However this may be, Soteriou has rightly emphasized that Athens is clearly the

²⁸ Soteriou, "Arabic Decorations," in *BNJ* 11 (1934-35) 236, 238, fig. 7, and "Arabic Remains," reprinted in Kampouroglous, *Capture of Athens*, p. 162 (which latter study should in general be corrected by the former). The other fragment of a Cufic inscription is smaller and more battered (*BNJ* 11 [1934-35] 239, fig. 9).

²⁹ Soteriou, *BNJ* 11 (1934-35) 238, fig. 8, and 1 should think much hesitation was warranted!

³⁰ Geo. Lampakis, *Mémoire sur les antiquités chrétiennes de la Grèce*, Athens, 1902, pp. 20 ff., and Strzygowski, in M. van Berchem and J. Strzygowski, *Amida*, pp. 373-374.

³¹ Strzygowski, in the vol. on *Amida*, p. 372; Soteriou, *BNJ* 11 (1934-35) 259-260, figs. 42, 43.

³² Strzygowski, *Amida*, pp. 370-371; Soteriou, *BNJ* 11 (1934-35) 261, fig. 44.

³³ Cf. Soteriou, *Guide du musée byzantin d'Athènes*, trans. O. Merlier, Athens, 1932, pp. 63-65, with fig. 38; *idem*, in Kampouroglous, *Capture of Athens*, p. 164; and esp. in *BNJ* 11 (1934-35) 240 ff.; Strzygowski, *Amida*, p. 367, with fig. 319.

³⁴ Strzygowski, *Amida*, p. 370; Soteriou, *BNJ* 11 (1934-35) 246, 248, fig. 15. (The fragment is now in the Byzantine Museum in Athens.)

³⁵ Strzygowski, *Amida*, p. 366; Soteriou, *BNJ* 11 (1934-35) 250.

³⁶ Strzygowski, *Amida*, p. 372; Soteriou, *BNJ* 11 (1934-35) 242-244, 248 ff. For the association of the Emperor Romanus with the monastery of St. Luke and for his sarcophagus, see R. W. Schultz and S. H. Barnsley, *The Monastery of Saint Luke of Stiris in Phocis*, London, 1901, pp. 6, 7, 15-16, 34-35; for the Cufic ornamentation, see fig. 25, pl. 16, and cf. pl. 11.

³⁷ Cf. Strzygowski, *Amida*, p. 373; Soteriou, *BNJ* 11 (1934-35) *passim*. Kastoria is the only place in Macedonia where Cufic design has so far been noted (in the church of the Anargyroi). It is not true, despite the assertion of Strzygowski, *loc. cit.*, that Cufica are not

center from which the Graeco-Cufic design spread into other parts of Greece.³⁸

All the purely Arabic remains in Athens date from the tenth to the twelfth century. They are, by and large, all worked on local marble, and hence have not been imported into the city from distant Moslem lands. Of the inscriptions the only legible ones, as we have noted, appear to be evidence of the building of a mosque on the site of the ancient Asclepieum where successive traces have been found of earlier Christian churches.³⁹ It seems probable from the evidence that there was a Moslem settlement in Athens in the tenth century or so. Moslems carved their decorative inscriptions upon their own buildings and other objects, and so supplied the prototypes for imitation by Byzantine workmen who wrought the various examples of Graeco-Cufic design preserved today in the Byzantine Museum in Athens and elsewhere. Soteriou has observed that the theory of Kampouroglous would help to explain the well-known fact that no churches in Athens have survived from a period earlier than the eleventh century.⁴⁰ The true Arabic inscriptions would appear to place beyond dispute the presence of Moslems in Athens, but Soteriou has also observed that Cufic design could have been copied

found on Mt. Athos; there is, for example, a very impressive Cufic frieze over the lintel of the great doorway in the monastery of Chilandari (Soteriou, *op. cit.*, pp. 254-255 and fig. 40). In 862 and 866 Arab attacks upon Mt. Athos disturbed the quiet life of St. Euthymius the Younger (Louis Petit, "Vie et office de St. Euthyme le jeune," *RevOrChr* 8 [1903] secc. 21, 24-25, pp. 185, 189-190, and cf. Vasilief, *Byzance et les Arabes*, I, 258). Coincidentally Euthymius' biographer, who reports these Arab attacks, was one Basil — apparently an early tenth-century Metropolitan of Thessalonica, and said to have been an Athenian who was, in his early years, a monk near Chilandari (*RevOrChr* 8 [1903] 160-161).

³⁸ Soteriou, in Kampouroglous, *Capture of Athens*, pp. 164-165. For other Athenian Cufics, see Soteriou, *BNJ* 11 (1934-35) 252-254.

³⁹ Cf. Soteriou, *Εὐρετήριο των μεσαιωνικῶν μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, pt. I (1927), p. 46; *idem*, in Kampouroglous, *Capture of Athens*, p. 163. These inscriptions might, of course, have been transferred to this site from some other place in Athens or Attica. See also John Travlos, "The Ancient Christian Basilica of the Asclepieum of Athens" [in Greek], offprint from the *ArchEph* 1939-1941 (1948) 35 ff., and esp. p. 66.

⁴⁰ Soteriou, in Kampouroglous, *Capture of Athens*, p. 165.

by the Athenians and other Greeks from jewelry, embroidery, woven textiles, and the like imported into Greece from the East.⁴¹ The mere fact, however, that the true Arabic inscriptions seem to prove that there was a Moslem community in Athens of at least some years' duration in the tenth century or so does not indicate that Kampouroglous is correct in his belief that the "lament of Athens" describes a Moslem seizure of the city in the tenth century. Moslems could indeed have been in Athens at this time, as Strzygowski suggested more than forty years ago, and the unknown poet's lament could still be, as the present writer believes, a description of the Turkish occupation of 1456, which would be, presumably, the only Islamic ("Persian") occupation of the city known to the author of the lament unless we assume that he had read a source no longer extant, describing the Moslem attack of the tenth century, which seems too large an assumption for historical purposes. The style and language of the lament suggest that the poem was written in the later fifteenth century, and its contents and character suggest that the poet is describing the events of 1456.

That the Moslems were enormously active on the Aegean we have already seen. The Byzantine chroniclers describe the coming of the Emir Damiāna, redoubtable conqueror of Thessalian Demetrias (896-902), late in the second decade of the tenth century, in a raid upon the island of Strobilos, with a fleet of warships and a large force; he would have taken the island, they say, if he had not fallen ill, and his death obliged the Saracens to depart empty handed. Damiāna had long been the chief scourge of Greek shipping in the eastern Mediterranean. In 911-912 he had overrun the great island of Cyprus, which he held for four months and ravaged terribly.⁴²

⁴¹ Soteriou, *BNJ* 11 (1934-35) 262-263.

⁴² Mas'ūdi (d. 956-7), *Golden Meadows (Les Prairies d'or)*, ed. Barbier de Meynard, Paris, 1861 ff., VIII, p. 282, trans. Marius Canard, in A. A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, II, pt. 2 (Brussels, 1950), p. 43, and cf. Sir George Hill, *History of Cyprus*, I (1940), p. 294 and n. 4. Geo. Cedrenus, *Hist. compendium* (Bonn, II, 284), who calls Damiāna Emir of Tyre. For Damiāna's raid on Strobilos, see, *infra*, the sources relating to the death of Chases.

In the ebb and flow of warfare between the Byzantines and the Moslems many captives were taken on both sides. Maybe the little colony of Moslems in Athens were captives rather than conquerors as Kampouroglous assumed. Some of these Moslems were converted to Christianity, and even entered the service of the Byzantine state. Such was apparently the case of one Chases or Chase.⁴³ It was about 913 that Chases — “who sprang from the race of the Saracens,” says Constantine Porphyrogenitus, “and remained a true Saracen in thought and character and religion,”⁴⁴ but had nevertheless become a Byzantine protospatharius — had made himself so obnoxious to the Athenians because of his debauchery and insatiable cupidity, as well as the injuries he had inflicted upon them, that they rose up against him in anger, and pursued

him even into the Parthenon, the church of the Virgin Atheniotissa, where they stoned him to death within the very sanctuary.⁴⁵

The evidence for the Moslem occupation of Athens is thus very slight. It seems pretty clear that there was in Athens about the year 1000 or so at least a small colony of Moslems. They had a mosque on the site of the Asclepieum, and Moslem workmen were employed here and there in the city. Originality, however, is the bane of historical scholarship. We all suffer from it. When the facts are insufficient for logic (itself a source of deception), imagination comes to our aid. Then we leave the pathway of history, narrow and confining, and turn aside into the open fields of speculation. Indeed, Lord Byron, whose name is an appropriate ornament to any study of Athens, was moved to contemplate the illusiveness of the memory even of recent events, and *a fortiori* the subjectivity of the history of the distant past: “Who can be sure that Imagination is not the torch-bearer? Let philosophers decide. I am none.”⁴⁶ The bases for Kampouroglous’ claim that the Moslems occupied Athens, forcibly and destructively, in the tenth century are so tenuous that we must leave to philosophers rather than to historians the final adjudication of his theory.

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⁴³ Cf. Soteriou, *BNJ* 11 (1934-35) 264-266.

⁴⁴ Const. Porphyrogen., *De adm. imperio*, 50, ed. Gy. Moravcsik and trans. R. J. H. Jenkins, Budapest, 1949, p. 242; ed. Bonn, pp. 230-231.

⁴⁵ For the death of Chases, see the Byzantine chroniclers: Theophanes Cont. (Bonn, p. 388); Simeon Magister, *Chronogr.* (*ibid.*, p. 723); Geo. Monachus, *Impp.* (*ibid.*, p. 880); and Leo Grammaticus (Bonn, pp. 293-294). Cf. Kampouroglous, *Capture of Athens*, pp. 172-174.

⁴⁶ *The Works of Lord Byron: Letters and Journals*, ed. R. E. Prothero, V (London, 1901), 433, 434.

ATHENS IN THE LATER TWELFTH CENTURY

FOR almost a thousand years the city of Athens remained, as her greatest critic has described her, 'brilliant, ivy-crowned, and enviable Athens.'¹ The goddess Athena protected her city and maintained its prestige, despite a few severe reversals, from the time of Aeschylus to that of the Empress Athenais. Although partially sacked by Sulla in 86 B. C., Athens suffered no real distress until pillaged by the Heruli in A. D. 267, when she was rescued from the barbarians by a certain Kleodamos and the historian Herennius Dexippus.² A vision of Athena Promachos ranging the walls of the Acropolis, armed to do battle for her city, with the hero Achilles nearby, 'just as Homer showed him to the Trojans,' according to Zosimus, frightened the Visigoth Alaric into sparing Athens although he ravaged the rest of Greece.³ Under both the early and the late empire, Athens was the foremost university city in the Graeco-Roman world, and many famous names are woven into the fabric of her history during this period. Athens was beloved of Hadrian beyond any spot on earth; it was here that Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus received their education under Herodes Atticus. It was of Athens that Pausanias wrote the most readable sections of the *Descriptio Graeciae*; it was here, too, that Dion Chrysostom, Aelius Aristides, Maximus of Tyre, and Lucian of Samosata lectured to their appreciative audiences.

After the Antonines and after the sack by the Heruli in the following century, Athens experienced some decline. She came to feel more keenly with each generation that passed the increased competition that the schools of Asia Minor and Egypt gave her, not to mention her distant rivals in Italy and Gaul, but in the fourth century Athens was still the school of Hellas. Himerius of Prusa, Libanius of Antioch, and Julian the Apostate, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nazianzus, and Synesius of Cyrene studied in Athens, and paid, with one prominent exception, fitting tributes to her greatness. The Emperor Constantine had taken pride in his title Strategos of the Athenians, and when they erected a statue in his honor, he bestowed upon Athens an annual gift of many tens of thousands of *medimnoi* of wheat.⁴

The present article is based chiefly upon the works of Michael Choniates, Archbishop of Athens (1182-1204), edited, very largely for the first time, by Spyridon P. Lambros, *Μιχαήλ Ἀκομινάτου τοῦ Χωνιάτου τὰ Σωζόμενα*, 2 vols., Athens, 1879-80. Of secondary literature Lambros, *Αἱ Ἀθήναι περὶ τὰ Τέλη τοῦ δωδεκάτου Αἰῶνος*, Athens, 1878, and Ferdinand Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Athen im Mittelalter*, 3 ed., 2 vols., Stuttgart, 1889 (the first volume only), have been most helpful in interpreting the works of Choniates, and, in the case of Lambros' book, in placing them chronologically. Other sources, both primary and secondary works, need not be mentioned until their occurrence in the text and notes.

¹ Aristophanes [after Pindar], *Knights*, 1329.

² Trebellius Pollio, *Gallieni duo*, 13, 8 (Hohl, II, 92); Zosimus, *Historia nova*, I, 39 (Mendelssohn, pp. 27-28); Syncellus, *Chronogr.* (Bonn, p. 717); Zonaras, *Ann.*, XII, 26 (Bonn, II, 604-605). Cf. John Day, *An Economic History of Athens under Roman Domination* (New York, 1942), pp. 258-261.

³ Zosimus, v, 6 (Mendelssohn, pp. 222-223); Philostorgius, *Hist. eccl.*, XII, 2 (Bidez, *Griechische Christliche Schriftsteller*, 21, 140-141), adds that Alaric 'took Athens' (καὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας εἴλεν).

⁴ Julian, *Orat. I*, 8CD (Hertlein, I, 9-10).

Athens made a profound impression upon those who were fortunate enough to visit her, Christians and pagans alike. Himerius was a teacher at Athens for almost forty years, and Libanius, after refusing at Antioch rich heiresses in marriage, 'would have declined, like Odysseus, marriage even with a goddess for just the smoke of Athens.'¹ When Julian was summoned by the Emperor Constantius from Athens to Milan, he shed floods of tears and uttered awful lamentations: 'Stretching out my hands to the Acropolis . . . and beseeching Athena to spare her suppliant and not to abandon him . . . I even asked for death at her hands, there in Athens, rather than to meet it on the journey I was then to make!' Athena did not abandon him.² He prayed that Athens might always have emperors that would appreciate her and love her beyond the rest of the world.³ In Julian's own day SS Basil of Caesarea and Gregory of Nazianzus were fellow-students in Athens, and Gregory has left abundant testimony of his love for the city of learning: 'Athens was truly golden for me, if for anyone,' he sighed in after years, 'and the patroness of lovely things!'⁴ Athens was the glory of Greece.⁵

But the world of the future, the Middle Ages, was Christian, while the greatness of Athens was unalterably pagan. When Constantinople became the chief city of the eastern half of the empire, Athens began gradually to fall into obscurity. Mysticism and the Christian capacity for the irrational could thrive in Constantinople, which became a peculiarly Christian capital, but the traditions of Athens were very different and not to be discarded by her teachers. There were few, indeed, who like Prohaeresius could reconcile the career of the sophist with the life of a Christian. In Athens small attention was paid to religious dogma and revealed truth; the supernatural was distrusted; and worship was tempered with indolent good nature. Literature and learning, art and philosophy, music and the city festivals were more at home in Athens than was Christianity.⁶

Early in the fifth century Synesius of Cyrene spent some time in Athens, but he could curse the hapless skipper whose ship had brought him there. 'Present day Athens has nothing grand but its famous place names' (*οὐδὲν ἔχουσιν αἱ νῦν Ἀθῆναι σεμνόν, ἀλλ' ἢ τὰ κλεινὰ τῶν χωρίων ὀνόματα*). The city was like a burnt sacrificial offering, he thought, and only charred skin was left as a reminder of a creature that once had lived. Now that Philosophy had departed from Athens, he said, the tourist could admire only the Academy, the Lyceum, and, by Zeus, the *Stoa Poikile* (Painted Porch), which had given its name to the philosophy of Chrysippus. But the *Stoa* was *poikile* no longer: a proconsul had just removed the famous paintings upon which Polygnotus of Thasos had spent his skill. Athens had once been the city of the wise, but now only the bee-keepers upheld her fame.⁷ Synesius' letter is unsympathetic; it does him small credit. His picture of decline

¹ Libanius, *Orat.* I, 12 (Foerster, I, 87).

² Julian, *Ep. ad S. P. Q. Atheniensium*, 275AB (Hertlein, I, 354).

³ *Ibid.*, 287D (Hertlein, I, 370).

⁴ Greg. Naz., *Orat.* XLIII (*In laudem Basilii Magni*), 14 (*Patrologia Graeca*, XXXVI, 513A). The story of Basil and Gregory's residence as students in Athens is told at great length by Gregory, *ibid.*, 14-18 (513A-520C); 24 (528C-529AB). Cf. *De vita sua*, vv. 112 sqq. (*PG*, XXXVII, 1037A sqq.).

⁵ Greg. Naz., *Ad Nemesium*, v. 44 (*PG*, XXXVII, 1554A).

⁶ Lambros (1878), p. 11.

⁷ Synesius, *Ep.* 135 (136): *PG*, LXVI, 1524BC.

in Athens, too, appears to be no little exaggerated. One would rather picture the kindly Synesius wandering through the Agora, up the west ascent of the Acropolis to the parapet of the Nike temple, whence to gaze in silent wonder down to the harbor at Piraeus, dwelling fondly in his mind on the things that used to be, but were no more. This is what Michael Choniates, Archbishop of Athens in the later twelfth century, was to do when very much less of Athens was left to gaze at in silent wonder.

Although Justinian helped much to preserve the antiquities of Athens by having her walls repaired,¹ he despoiled the city of some columns that were used in building Santa Sophia² (and which are thus apparently still preserved, but no longer identifiable); and his famous edict, by which in the third year of his reign he prohibited the teaching of philosophy and of law in Athens (κελεύσας μηδένα διδάσκειν φιλοσοφίαν μήτε νόμιμα ἐξηγεῖσθαι), was a blow to the city from which any sort of recovery was impossible.³

Notices of Athens in the early Middle Ages are infrequent; the city had become a provincial town, and in no way, except in her glorious history, was she to be compared with Constantinople and Thessalonica. The state of our knowledge of early mediaeval Athens, despite the labors of Lambros, Gregorovius, Kampourouglos, and many others, is most unsatisfactory. Some facts are known. Athens, for example, could scarcely have escaped involvement early in 727 in the revolt of the Greeks north of the Gulf of Corinth (the *Helladikoi*) and the inhabitants of the Cyclades against the iconoclastic measures of Leo the Isaurian, a revolt which the imperial navy, with the aid of Greek fire, quickly overcame in April of the same year (727).⁴ The Empress Irene in 797 exiled the Caesars, her brothers-in-law, to Athens, and almost a century later the Emperor Leo VI exiled the abbot Theodore Santabarenus, a follower of Photius, to Athens.⁵

There can be little question that Athens was much harassed by the Arabs in the late ninth and early tenth centuries. We learn from the anonymous, but contemporary, life of St Lucas Junior Thaumaturgus that the Arabs raided the nearby island of Aegina so frequently that the inhabitants were forced to seek homes elsewhere in Greece and the Peloponnesus.⁶ There is some evidence, indeed, for the settlement of Arabs in Athens between *ca* 900 and *ca* 1100.⁷

¹ Procopius, *De aedificiis DN. Iustiniani*, iv, 2 (Bonn, III, 272).

² George Codinus, *De structura templi S. Sophiae* (Bonn, p. 132).

³ John Malalas, *Chronogr.*, xviii (Bonn, p. 451).

⁴ Theophanes, *Chronogr.* (Bonn, I, 623–624); George Cedrenus, *Comp. hist.* (Bonn, I, 796); Nicephorus Constantinopolitanus, *De rebus post Mauricium gestis* (Bonn, pp. 64–65).

⁵ *Cambridge Medieval History*. iv (1923), 24; 56, 254.

⁶ *Anonymi vita S. Lucae Iunioris*, 2 (PG, cxi, 441A–444A); *Acta sanctorum*, 7 February (Paris, 1864, II, 84B).

⁷ The Greek archaeologist G. A. Soteriou, "Arabic Remains in Athens during Byzantine Times" (in Greek), *Πρακτικά τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν*, iv (1929), 266–273, sees an Arab occupation of the city in the middle of the tenth century from the following bits of evidence: three Cufic inscriptions found in the Asklepion and the Roman Agora, Cufic decorations on the Church of Sts Theodore, and Cufic ornamentation on a marble slab on the Acropolis — all of which remains are to be dated not earlier than *ca* 900 nor later than *ca* 1100, and since the marble has in each case an Attic origin, these Arabic touches must have been applied in Athens, where Soteriou believes there was a Moslem

George Cedrenus says of the Emperor Basil II Bulgaroctonus in 1018–1019, after his successful Bulgarian campaign, ‘when he had come to Athens and had given thanks to the Mother of God for his victory, he decked out the church [the Parthenon] with many beautiful and very costly offerings, and then he returned to Constantinople.’¹

The runic inscription on the Piraeus lion, now at the entrance to the arsenal in Venice, whither it was brought by Francesco Morosini in 1688, has been thought to indicate the occupation of Athens about 1041 by the Varangians under Harald Sigurdsson Haardraade in the service of the Emperor Michael IV. Indeed, according to the reading of the Danish scholar Carl C. Rafn, Harald Haardraade and the Norwegians ‘imposed heavy financial penalties because of the insurrection of the Greek people.’² There have been scholars unkind enough to suggest that Rafn’s translation is pure fantasy and that the inscription is too worn and defaced to read,³ while Gregorovius has suggested that the runes were carved by Varangians in the retinue of Basil II in 1018–1019.⁴ Otto of Freising states that Athens, along with Thebes and Corinth, was occupied by King Roger of Sicily in 1146 or 1147; although it is not improbable, Hopf regards the Norman occupation of Athens as extremely unlikely, however, ‘da die Byzantiner davon Nichts erwähnen.’⁵

There are a number of references to Athens in mediaeval chronicles from the ninth to the eleventh century; they reveal little or nothing more than their authors’ profound respect for — and complete ignorance of — both ancient Athens and the city of their own times.⁶

Some curious references to twelfth-century Athens have also been preserved in western chronicles and eastern legends. The King of Georgia, David II the ‘Renovator’ (1089–1125), whose wife was a Byzantine princess, was supposed to have founded a monastery near Athens, whither every year he sent twenty young scholars to learn the Greek language and to bring back to his kingdom the precious wares of Greek philosophy and theology. The Armenian historian Wardan, however, who lived in the thirteenth century, although he mentions David’s subsidy

sanctuary (on the site of the Asklepion) and an Arabic settlement. Cf., for a shred of MS evidence to the same effect, Dem. Gr. Kampouroglous, ‘The Saracens in Athens’ (in Greek), *ibid.*, IV (1929), 341–344.

¹ George Cedrenus, *Hist. compend.* (Bonn, II, 475); Michael Glykas, *Ann. IV* (Bonn, pp. 578–579); John Zonaras, *Epit. hist.*, XVII, 9, 23–24 (Bonn, III, ed. Büttner-Wobst, p. 566).

² C. C. Rafn, *Runeinskrift i Piraeus*, Copenhagen, 1856; Karl Hopf, ‘Geschichte Griechenlands vom Beginn des Mittelalters bis auf unsere Zeit,’ Ersch u. Gruber’s *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste*, 85 (1867), 147; K. Paparregopoulos, *History of the Greek People* (in Greek), IV (5 ed. Athens, 1925), 224–228.

³ Vilhelm Thomsen, *Ancient Russia and Scandinavia* (Oxford and London, 1877), pp. 108–109, who cites S. Bugge, *Kongl. Vitterhets Historie och Antiquitets Akademiens Månadsblad*, XLIII (Stockholm, 1875), pp. 97 sqq.

⁴ Gregorovius, *Stadt Athen*, I (1889), 170–171.

⁵ Otto of Freising, *Gesta Friderici Imperatoris*, I, 33 (*Monumenta Germaniae historica, Scriptores*, XX, 370). The text is cited in a later note. Otto of Freising’s statement, although rejected by most modern scholars (Finlay, Hopf, Hertzberg, Paparregopoulos) is accepted by Lambros (1878), p. 14. Cf. Hopf (1867), p. 157.

⁶ For a collation and discussion of these references, see Gregorovius, I (1889), 235–239.

of forty young Georgian scholars in 'Greece' — which in his text certainly means Thessalonica, the monasteries on Mt Athos, and Constantinople — knows nothing of Georgians in Athens at this time. Another story, and a very good one, was to the effect that the Georgian epic poet Chota Roustavéli came to Athens with some of his compatriots about 1192, studied the Greek philosophers and historians as well as music, and after a residence of several years in Athens returned to Georgia to become poet laureate and librarian of Queen Thamar, 'who ruled Georgia like a second Semiramis from 1184 to 1211.'¹ Michael Choniates, who was Archbishop of Athens during the last quarter of the twelfth century, knows nothing of the poet's sojourn in his city to seek the wisdom of ancient Greece, while he was himself becoming a veritable barbarian, as we shall hear him complain, for the lack of such wisdom in Athens.²

No less interesting, and rather more trustworthy, is the tradition of certain western scholars studying in Athens in the twelfth century. A Paris physician named John Aegidius is alleged to have studied in Athens towards the end of the century.³ It may be that he is being confused with an earlier Aegidius, or Gislenuus, who founded the Benedictine monastery at Hainault in Belgium about 640, and who was believed to have been born in Attica and to have studied philosophy in Athens.⁴ In any event, it is difficult to understand what a physician could learn about medicine, if that was his purpose, in twelfth century Athens.

Matthew Paris has preserved a tale of study in Athens by John of Basingstoke, Archdeacon of Leicester, who died in 1252. Basingstoke is reported to have told Robert Grosseteste, the famous Bishop of Lincoln, 'quod quando studuit Athenis viderat et audierat ab peritis Graecorum doctoribus quaedam Latinis incognita.' In Athens Basingstoke found, and brought back to England with him, a copy of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, which has been recognized as the tenth-century manuscript now in the Cambridge University Library,⁵ and which Nicholas of St Albans translated from Greek into Latin in 1242 at the behest of Robert Grosseteste. Basingstoke introduced Greek numerals into England, and translated a Greek grammar; he also brought other manuscripts with him from Athens. So much of the account of Basingstoke and his association with Athens appears to be true, but Matthew Paris did not commonly allow truth and probability unduly to restrain his zest for story-telling. He asserts that Basingstoke had often told him that the source of his learning had been a young girl in Athens: 'quaedam puella, filia archiepiscopi Atheniensis, nomine Constantina, nondum vicesimum agens annum, virtutibus praedita, omnem trivii et quadrivii noverat difficultatem . . . et quicquid boni scivit in scientia, ut saepe asseruit, licet Parisius diu studuisset et legisset, ab ea mendicaverat. Hacc puella pesti-

¹ Gregorovius, I (1889), 227–231; Lambros (1878), p. 46; William Miller, *The Latins in the Levant* (London, 1908), pp. 20–21.

² Mich. Chon., *Ep.* 28 (Lambros, II, 44).

³ Polycarp Leyser, *Historia poetarum et poematum mediæ ævi* (1721), p. 499.

⁴ *Acta sanctorum*, 9 October (Paris, 1866, IV, 1031 sqq.). Miller (1908), p. 20.

⁵ J. E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, I (3 ed. Cambridge, 1921), 576.

lentias, tonitrua, eclipsim, et quod mirabilius fuit, terrae motum praedicens, omnes suos auditores infallibiliter praemunivit.¹ This extraordinary girl of twenty, daughter of the Archbishop of Athens, would have apparently to be the daughter of Michael Choniates, the last Greek Archbishop whose daughter Basingstoke could have known, for the latter died in 1252. But the amazing Constantina was not the daughter of Choniates, who expressly declares he had no children (εἰ γὰρ καὶ πατὴρ οὐκ ἐγενόμην ἀλλ' οἶδα τὰ ἐπὶ τοῖς παισὶ τῶν πατέρων σπλάγχνα).² Choniates, further, does not mention Basingstoke, and the latter apparently did not speak of Choniates to Matthew Paris.

Matthew Paris also informs us that in the third or fourth year of the reign of King John (ca 1202) 'quidam philosophi Graeci, vultu et gestu severi et venerabiles . . . in Angliam ab Athenis venientes, curiam regis adierunt.' These philosophers, apparently Greek monks, whether from Athens or not, were not allowed to remain in England, because King John feared that by their deceptions they might shake the faith of his people ('et sic imposito eis silentio vacui recesserunt et confusi').³ In after years, when John was dead, Matthew, much impressed by his expulsion from England of the Athenian 'philosophers,' thought that this would secure him everlasting praise through the centuries to come.⁴ On the derivation of the name Athens Matthew learnedly informs us, 'hoc nomen Athenae dicitur ab a, quod est sine, et thanatos, quod est mors, quasi immortalis.'⁵

Although there were few scholars in the west in the twelfth century who could read Pericles' funeral oration in the second book of Thucydides, in which the great Strategos makes his much quoted description of Athens as 'the school of Hellas,' mediaeval readers in western Europe were well aware of Athens' cultural preeminence, as Gregorovius has observed, through their reading of Cicero, Cornelius Nepos, Horace, and other Latin authors, as well as the Latin Fathers.⁶ Certainly no classical author, moreover, was more alive to Athens' contributions to ancient and mediaeval culture than Godfrey of Viterbo (ca 1120-ca 1198). Godfrey declares in his *Speculum regum*, a genealogical history in verse of kings and emperors from the sons of Noah to Charlemagne, that the *Romani et Theutonici reges et imperatores* stemmed from the kings of Troy, who were themselves descended from Jupiter, *primus rex Atheniensium*. Jupiter had been born in Athens, whence came the knowledge of the trivium and quadrivium (*indeque quadrivii trivique scientia venit*). Athens was founded under the protection of Minerva's name (*sub nomine facta Minervae*), that wisdom might thrive through the goddess' support. Jupiter's first wife was Niobe, who gave mankind its oldest law code. His second wife was Juno; she became the mother of Danaus, the ancestor of the Greeks:

¹ Matthew Paris, *Chronica maiora*, ed. H. R. Luard (Rolls Series, 57), v (1880), 285-287.

² Mich. Chon., *Ep.* 119, 2 (Lambros, II, 244). Cf. Lambros (1878), pp. 47-50. Hopf (1867), p. 177, believes in Constantina, but his opinion, expressed before the publication of Michael Choniates' works (1879-80), is without value on this point.

³ Matthew Paris, *Historia Anglorum (minor)*, ed. Frederic Madden (Rolls Series, 44), III (1869), 64.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II (1866), 194.

⁵ *Chron. maiora*, v (1880), 286.

⁶ Gregorovius, *Stadt Athen*, I (1889), 237.

Sic Iovis in terra gloria maior erat!

Thus Athens was the source of written law, whence Rome came to possess it; in short, all the arts and sciences could be traced back to Jupiter and to Athens.¹ Godfrey of Viterbo would seem to have been an authority for our debt to Greece, who unfortunately, like many another in our own day, represents the triumph of naiveté over common sense.

The history of Athens in the earlier Middle Ages must be put together from occasional references in the Greek chroniclers, from some inscriptions of disputed value, and, later, from lead seals and the like, but continuous and extensive literary sources are entirely lacking. With the accession to the archiepiscopal throne, however, of Michael Choniates at the beginning of the last quarter of the twelfth century, the social, economic, and cultural history of Athens becomes much better known to us until the occupation of the city by the Franks late in the year 1204 (and, although with some serious gaps in our knowledge, to an even greater extent thereafter). Of the immediate predecessors of Choniates we know little beyond their names — Nicholas Hagiotheodorites, George Bourtzes, and Leon Xeros — which were carved on the columns at the west end of the Parthenon.² If they had fulfilled the multiple duties of their office as sincerely and as competently as Choniates, Athens would probably not have been so poorly off.

Michael Choniates was born about the year 1138 in Asia Minor in the Phrygian city of Chonae, the Colossae of St Paul, whence Michael and his perhaps more famous brother Nicetas are known as the Choniatae. Destined from birth for the Church, Michael was about eighteen years of age when he was sent to Constantinople, where he studied under Eustathius, later the Archbishop of Thessalonica, who took him into his home and taught him to love the ancient classics, and especially Homer and Pindar.

Choniates remained in Constantinople for some twenty-five years. He proved to be a very able student, and attracted some attention as a scholar. Michael's father was, we may assume, pleased with his son's progress, for he sent the younger Nicetas to study under his brother. Nicetas was a credit to Michael. He rose high in the imperial civil service and became a distinguished man of letters. Our knowledge of Byzantine history from the death of Manuel Comnenus through the establishment of the Latin Emperor in Constantinople (1180 to 1206) we owe largely to the works of Nicetas Choniates.

As for Michael, his career was well launched, and his future assured, when he became the secretary of the Patriarch Theodosius Boradioktes (1178-1183), with whom he shared, as Lambros has put it, both the hazards and the emoluments of the patriarchal power in those troublous times. His friendship with Boradioktes

¹ Godfrey of Viterbo, *Speculum regum: Ep. ad Henricum VI* (MGH, *Scriptores*, xxii, 21-22); *De Iove primo rege Atheniensi*, vv. 160-216 (*ibid.*, 38-39).

² Lambros (1878), 20-24 (notes); on Bourtzes there is a notice by P. N. Papageorgiu, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, II (1893), 589. Of his predecessors Choniates mentions only Xeros (*Ep.* 21, 2: Lambros, II, 30). See, however, the Preface to this volume.

seems to have borne fruit when in the year 1182 Michael Choniates became the Archbishop of Athens.¹

It is not easy to understand Michael's reasons for abandoning his life of apparent ease and opportunities for study to accept the archbishopric of a city which he must have known to be in his day a helpless and a hopeless shambles. To the statesmen and scholars of Byzantium, as his brother Nicetas indicates, Greece was a 'far corner of the empire' (χωρον . . . μυχαλτατον).² Michael's life in Athens became 'a constant struggle of right against wrong, of virtue against vice.'³

Choniates' many petitions, sermons, and letters to those in high places, seeking relief from present evils and redress for past injustices (works which were for the most part unpublished until 1879-80), stand as a lasting memorial of his burning love for Athens and his courageous devotion to the Athenians both during his term of office and after his expulsion from the city by the Franks in 1205. He appealed in behalf of Athens in formal petitions to the Emperors Isaac Angelus and Alexius III. He delivered passionate addresses to the provincial governors Nicephorus Prosouchos, Demetrius Drimys, and Michael Stryphnos; he wrote to such high personages as George Xiphilinus and Euthymius Tornikes, to the Logothetes Basil Kamateros and John Belissariotes, to the sturdy Theodore Ducas of Epirus and the Emperor Theodore Lascaris of Nicaea — to all these, in the letters written before his exile, he generally complained, it must be acknowledged, of what a God-forsaken hole he had got into when he went to Athens, 'like another vault in hell!'⁴ But, more often than not, his letters carried appeals, whenever he thought it might do any good, for aid against rapacious tax-collectors and corrupt governors; and, after the fall of Constantinople and his own banishment from Athens, he prayed for a Greek victory that might drive the Latin barbarians from his adopted city, the shrine of ancient culture.

¹ When Hieronymus Wolf published the first edition of Nicetas Choniates' history, and gave him the name Acominatus (*Nicetae Acominati Choniatae . . . historia . . .*, Basel, 1557), Nicetas' elder brother Michael also acquired the apparently unwarranted name Acominatus, which he bore for almost four centuries. The most important study of Michael's life and work is that by Georg Stadtmüller, *Michael Choniates, Metropolit von Athen (ca. 1138 — ca. 1222)*, in *Orientalia Christiana*, XXXIII-2 (Rome, 1934). Stadtmüller, pp. 274-78, has shown that there seems to be no authority for assigning the name Acominatus to the two Choniatae: 'Man kann . . . mit gutem Grunde behaupten, dass dieser [Name] niemals existiert hat' (p. 276). V. Grumel, 'De l'Origine du nom 'Ακομινάτος,' in the *Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, XXIII (1953), 165-67, has suggested that the mystery of the name may be dispelled by assuming that some manuscript (which Wolf had seen) must have been misinterpreted by an incorrect reading of abbreviations and ligatures (Νική[τα] τοῦ ἀ[πὸ] κώμιν α[ἰ] τοῦ Χωνιάτου). The explanation is ingenious. Stadtmüller, 'Zur Biographie des Niketas Choniates,' *Byzantinische Forschungen*, I (1966), 321, does not dispute it. I am still uncertain. That Acominatus was known as a Greek name before Wolf's time seems well attested by the appearance on 1 January, 1497, of one *Aranitus Acominatus, grecus*, an apostolic protonotary, in the diary of the papal master of ceremonies Johann Burckard (Burchard), *Liber notarum*, ed. Enrico Çelani, II (1911-41, unfinished), 11. While this has nothing to do with the Metropolitan Michael, one wonders whether the name should entirely disappear from Byzantine prosopography. Stadtmüller, pp. 279-81, has shown that Lambros was correct in maintaining that Michael arrived in Athens in 1182 to occupy the archiepiscopal throne for more than twenty years, until he fled before the Fourth Crusaders in 1204.

² Nicetas Choniates, *De Manuele Comneno*, I, 3 (Bonn, p. 78).

³ Lambros, I, *Eisag.*, p. κβ'.

⁴ Mich. Chon., *Ep.* 13, 6 (Lambros, II, 19).

From before the time of Constantine Porphyrogenitus the eparchy of Athens had lain within the province or theme of Hellas, which extended as far as Aetolia in the west and Euboea in the east, and included the island of Aegina. This theme, like others in the empire, had been governed by military officers (*πραιτωρες*, *πρωπραιτωρες*, *στρατηγοί*), sent from Constantinople and equipped with extensive political power, although imperial justices (*κριταί*, *δικασταί*) had served as interpreters of law and dispensers of justice in the theme.¹ These praetors (governors), in the western themes, received no salaries:² they had to make their offices bear fruit (*τὴν ἀρχὴν καρποῦσθαι* is the classic term).

Troubles with Normans, Italians, various Crusading groups, Bulgars, Serbs, and the like, had finally led in Greece during the twelfth century to the frequent combination of both military and judicial functions in the hands of a single governor, as elsewhere, at different times, similar exigencies had similarly modified provincial administration in the empire.³

It would appear that the theme of Hellas had been combined, somewhat earlier than Michael Choniates' day, with the theme of the Peloponnesus into a single province to be ruled by a single praetor.⁴ The office of praetor, Choniates told Drimys, reminded him of the story of Medea: just as she had scattered her poisons over the plain of Thessaly, so did the praetor scatter every possible injustice throughout the theme of Hellas and the Peloponnesus.⁵ Of the dozen metropolitan sees in Greece, all under the Patriarch of Constantinople, Athens and Corinth were the two most important. Athens clearly possessed more ecclesiastical dignity than political and economic importance. Subject to the Metropolitan of Athens were ten or a dozen episcopal cities in northern Greece and the Archipelago.⁶

We are fortunate enough to possess the first sermon which Michael Choniates preached to his flock in the Parthenon shortly after his arrival in Athens. The new Archbishop was assured that the Athenians were going to reciprocate his love 'from their gladsome faces, the earnestness of the procession that had met him, the joyous reception, and the dances, inspired and even, as it were, enraptured' (*ἐκ τε τῶν γεγανωμένων προσώπων ὑμῶν καὶ τῆς πομπικωτέρας ὑπαντιάσεως καὶ παιδρωτάτης ὑποδοχῆς καὶ τοῦ οἶον ἐνθουσιαστικοῦ καὶ χαρμοσύνου σκιρτήματος*).⁷

Michael glorified their city as the mother of eloquence and of wisdom. He spoke of an ancient festival, the torch race (*ἡ πανήγυρις λαμπαδηδρόμος*), which the Athenians in days of yore had run on horseback. The racers were stationed at measured intervals; they passed the torch from one to another, the first to the second, the second to the third, and so on. They carried on until speed and fine

¹ In Constantine Porphyrogenitus' time the theme of Hellas supplied ten ships (*dromones*), a fair number, as well as 2300 seamen and 700 soldiers to the imperial navy: *De cerimoniis aulae Byzantinae*, II, c. 44 (Bonn, I, 653; note also p. 657).

² J. B. Bury, *The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century* (London, 1911), p. 40.

³ Lambros (1878), pp. 25-26.

⁴ Mich. Chon., *Address to the Praetor Demetrius Drimys*, I (Lambros, I, 157); 7 (p. 160); *et alibi*.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 47 (Lambros, I, 177).

⁶ Lambros (1878), p. 26, and Stadtmüller, p. 149.

⁷ Mich. Chon., *Inaugural Address (Eisbaterios)*, I (Lambros, I, 93).

horsemanship had scored a victory for the winning group. The torch race persisted in a sense in the Church, he observed; Christ was the judge (*athlothes*), and every Christian was called upon to carry the torch for his share of the race.¹

Michael would not call himself fortunate in having become Archbishop of far-famed and golden Athens, not yet, not until he too had carried the torch and won the athlete's crown of victory. But Athens was truly the queen of cities, the nurse of letters and of men of character, and it was small wonder that he was being congratulated on having received God's gift of so distinguished a charge. Michael, however, was not so impressed by the apparent glory of high office, not so unaware of human weakness, not so indifferent in his quest for truth, as not to seek and to find out just what it really meant and how much it was truly worth to be Archbishop of Athens. Not on mere possession of office could he account himself fortunate, but still he hoped that no one would take offense at his words. For, after all, he did not know whether he had become protector (*prostates*) of Athenians who were worthy of the high tradition of their lineage. It remained to be seen whether the bright fame of Athens had been brightly kept. He did not know whether Athens was still the city of olden times or whether only her glorious name was left. But someone might conduct him around the city to show him the clear proofs that this was Athens: 'This is the Peripatos, this is the Stoa, over here is the Akropolis, down there is the Peiraeus, and right here is the Lantern of Demosthenes.' In that event, he would merely possess additional evidence of the sort of men the Athenians of the past had been. He took a figure from the Lantern of Demosthenes: mayhap the Athenians were but sniffing the lantern wicks of the past! It was not to monuments that the ancient city and its citizens had owed their fame. It was to their character (*arete*) and to their wisdom (*sophia*). Thus it was that the Athenians had been as superior to all the other Greeks as the other Greeks had been superior to the barbarians.²

The congregation drew small comfort from his affirmation that they were the descendants of the ancient Athenians. Time had not so far prevailed against them he said, that the fine racial coinage of their great forebears (τὸ εὐγενὲς τῶν σπουδαίων προγόνων ὑμῶν κόμμα) had been, so to speak, re-cut in error and destroyed in them. The metal still rang true, and it was not short of weight. Surely the Athenians preserved the characteristics of their type as well as the barbarians, and who could not see that the Syrians, Kelts, Scythians, Egyptians, Cilicians, and even the Cretans with the legend of their lying, were all reproducing their kind in types that ran true to form? It was scarcely necessary to speak of birds and beasts and even plants, in all of which the same phenomenon was to be observed.³ What pride could Athenians take in the mere fact that they were descended from Athenians? Michael had not wished to be offensive in all this. He hoped that they would not harden their hearts against him.⁴

¹ *Ibid.*, 4-7 (I, 94-95).

² *Ibid.*, 8-14 (I, 95-98).

³ *Ibid.*, 19-20 (I, 99-100).

⁴ *Ibid.*, 18 (I, 99).

Choniates warned the Athenians in solemn tones to preserve the noble customs of their ancestors, who had been the most humane of all the Greeks and the most honored. He dwelt upon the ancient Athenians' devotion to eloquence (*logos*). They might be said to have obeyed and served eloquence alone: by words they were easily led 'like a docile horse that needs no curb.' It was by his powers as an orator that Pericles had calmed the restive people when the plague was in their city. But the success would not have attended Pericles' skill in speaking if the Athenians had not grown up to an obedience of eloquence and to following whithersoever it might lead them, 'being led not by the nose, as the saying is, but by their ears.' The fact that Alexander could be soothed when Timotheus played the flute was rather an indication of Alexander's nature (*physis*) than of Timotheus' talent.¹

If those whom Choniates was addressing were of that golden seed of the ancient Athenians, if they were not unworthy branches of the stalk that came of that seed, if they were true citizens of that best of cities, as they claimed to be and as they were called, time would soon tell. He would learn of their Attic blood and their Athenian inheritance very quickly, but not because they did their hair into a *krobylos* and pinned it with the *tettix*. Long before, these things had marked the Athenian, to be sure, just as the spear had marked the Spartan, and the descendant of Pelops was known by the ivory white mark on his shoulder. Choniates, however, would recognize that his congregation were true Athenians by their noble thoughts and their high character and by the spirit of their ancestors.²

In one respect, however, and that the most important of all, the Athenians of Michael Choniates' day were superior to their ancestors in the time of Athens' greatness. They were Christians. They worshipped no false virgins like Athena, the mother of Erichthonius, and Artemis, who loved Endymion. The Athenians of Michael's day knew the one true God, and they were known by Him. As Christians they must needs surpass all the virtues of Aristides, Aeacus, Diogenes, Pericles, Themistocles, and the warriors of Marathon, 'just as truth surpasses falsehood, light surpasses darkness, and reverence for God and the Almighty Himself surpasses mere dread of demons.' Born of the stock of the Athenians of old, however, the Athenians of Michael's day were 'like wild olive shoots grafted upon cultivated trees, and watered in the house of the Lord, as it were, with the dew of the apostles and the prophets.' That the result of this spiritual viticulture might not prove a failure Michael offered his prayers to Christ the 'planter of all good' (*παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ φυτουργῆ*).³

Michael referred to how, in the distant past, there had burned on the Acropolis before the venerable wooden statue of Athena Polias in the eastern cella of the Erechtheum a golden lamp, a symbol of godless paganism, but like the light of the glowworm the falsehood of paganism had paled when the dawn of Christian truth had arisen with the eternally Virgin Kore. The citadel of Athens had been freed from the tyranny of the false Virgin (*Pseudoparthenos*). Now there was in the Parthenon a really eternal lamp that gleamed forth from the height of the Acropo-

¹ *Ibid.*, 21-24 (I, 100-101).

² *Ibid.*, 25 (I, 101-102).

³ *Ibid.*, 26, 28-29, 31 (I, 102-103).

lis as though from Heaven itself to enlighten not Athens alone and Attica, but the most distant confines of the earth as far as the sun makes its way. Who could be more superstitious than the Athenians whom Paul had seen, who worshipped a God they did not know and could not name? Now God was known and great was his name.¹

In a spirit of exaltation and in the ecstasy of that moment Michael 'was in danger of imagining himself to be Moses.' For a moment he stood not upon the citadel of Athens, but upon Mount Horeb, upon the very peak of Heaven.²

Michael's descent from Mount Horeb was rapid and unhappy. The chief reaction of the congregation to his learning and eloquence was perplexity; the chief emotion that he called forth was disquietude. What could ignorant Greek peasants and Slavs and Vlachs know of the *krobylos* and the *tettix* or even of Aristides and Pericles? The fine racial coinage of the ancient Athenians, to adopt Michael's own figure, had been debased by a high measure of alloy. He could not move the Athenians of the twelfth century, sunk in poverty and in ignorance, by holding up to them as models for imitation the noble customs of their ancestors (*progonoi*), a rhetorical device that may possibly have been suggested to him by his reading of the Attic orators, who employed it very often. But it was not until almost seven centuries after Choniates' time, in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, that the Athenians were really moved to emulate the great deeds of their ancestors when they responded to the superb eloquence of Adamantios Koraes, who called upon them in repeated editions of his *Salpisma Polemisterion* to match 'the heroes of Marathon, Salamis, Plataea, and Thermopylae, your unconquerable ancestors' (*progonoi*).³

In the days that followed his inaugural address Michael completely lost the few illusions he had cherished concerning the Athenians. In another discourse to them, which he delivered not long after the first, he lamented, 'O city of Athens, to what depths of ignorance thou hast sunk, thou the mother of wisdom!' He had exercised his mind, he had sharpened his speech, so to speak, and he had exerted himself to the full before an audience of the descendants of the great Athenians of old. It had been their ancestors, who hard pressed once by a grievous famine had thought it unworthy of them to borrow from a certain rich man, because he was untutored, and, as far as the rules of grammar were concerned, a veritable barbarian in his speech. 'I lend you, O men of Athens,' he had offered, but they had preferred to die of famine rather than to borrow from such a barbarous speaker. How could an Athenian accept even sustenance from those who barbarized his language? Michael had looked forward to an audience of the descendants of such lovers of language. Truly he had done his best. He had striven to produce something that was direct and not affected. He had not wished to seem

¹ *Ibid.*, 32-34 (I, 104). The pilgrim Saewulf, who visited Athens at the beginning of the century (ca 1103), seems to recall only the miracle of the ever-burning lamp in the Parthenon, the 'ecclesia beatae Virginis Mariae in qua est oleum in lampade semper ardens, sed numquam deficiens' (*Peregrinatio Saewulfi in Recueil de voyages et de mémoires*, iv, Paris, 1838, p. 834).

² *Ibid.*, 35-36 (I, 105).

³ Adamantios Koraes, *Σάλπισμα Πολεμιστήριον* (2 ed. 'Peloponnesus' = Paris, 1821), p. 14.

the unworthy foster-parent of the city of eloquence. He was deceived in his hopes, disappointed in his expectations. A short while before, he had delivered his first sermon to the Athenians, a simple address and quite straightforward, with absolutely no attempt to impress them. But he had seemed to be speaking of things unintelligible (*μη συνετά*), and even in some foreign tongue, in Persian or in Seythian!¹

The Athenians had become a barbarian horde; they no longer had any desire to search for wisdom. 'Once their speech was Attic; now it is barbaric' (*οἱ πάλαι ἀττικισταὶ νῦν βαρβαρισταὶ*). Only with great difficulty had Michael achieved an understanding of the language they spoke; in fact, it had taken him three years to learn the 'Attic dialect' of the twelfth century. There had been, of course, some words that were not new to him, some words that time could never obliterate, words like Piraeus, Hymettus, Areopagus, Kallirhoe, Eleusis, Marathon. There were, too, popular diminutives that he understood, such as *δενδρύφια*, *προβατύλλια*, *παιδύλλια*, etc., as well as the forms, still heard in Athens, *δτεῦτος* and *ἀτοῦνος*.²

The speech of Athenians was repulsive to him. 'I have become a barbarian myself since I have been resident in Athens,' he writes, 'and, what is harder to bear, I have been forgotten as though I were dead, and forgotten I remain.'³

There is a wise saying in Ecclesiastes (1:4): 'One generation passeth away, and another generation cometh, but the earth abideth forever.' Athens was still Athens, Michael reflected, though she had become a city of ruins. Michael must often have thought, even as the tourist of yesterday and of today, when his hand touched a column of the Parthenon or when he walked between the Ionic columns of the central passage of the Propylaea, that the hand of Pericles may have rested there too, that Demosthenes had many times passed between those lovely columns. In this vein he writes one of the most interesting and moving passages in all his letters. He writes to Michael Autoreianos, who later became the Patriarch of Nicaea:

We may still enjoy [here in Attica] the same loveliness of the countryside, the temperate climate, the fruit-raising, the fertile land (*τὰ παμφόρον*), Hymettus rich in honey, the calm Piraeus, Eleusis of the mysteries, the horse-ridden plain of the Marathonian warriors, the same Acropolis, too, where I sit now, as I write, and seem to bestride the very peak of heaven, but that studious race of uncommon wisdom has gone, and there has come upon us a boorish people, beggarly in mind and in body, quick to wander off and seek their food now in one place, now in another, and thence to fly away again like migratory birds.⁴

But this praise of Attica is only poesy; Michael, in fact, is seldom consistent in his attitude towards Athens and the Athenians. He generally laments the decline of the land as well as that of the people. In a letter to one of his learned correspondents, he writes that the see of Athens, 'once the home of letters, has become a vale of tears and lamentations.' During a drought he writes that 'the rivers have left the olive groves, the streams have left the gardens, Kallirhoe flows no longer, the bees have left Hymettus, and the meadow grass has left the flocks.'⁵ Marathon

¹ Mich. Chon., *First Catechetical Discourse*, 50-51 (Lambros, I, 124).

² Mich. Chon., *Ep.* 28, 3 (Lambros, II, 44).

³ *Ibid.*, I (II, 44).

⁴ *Ep.* 8, 3 (II, 12).

⁵ *Ep.* 20, 2-3 (II, 26).

has lost, besides its trophies of long ago, even the capacity to bear grain, and pirates induct the Eleusinians into the *adyta* of Hades and initiate them into the mysteries of death (*μυοῦντες θανάτου μυστήρια*).¹

It was not alone in the things of the mind and the spirit that the Athenians were depressed, however, for a swarm of lesser officials, 'as numerous as the leaves and flowers in their season, more so than the frogs God once sent into Egypt,'² had for generations been oppressing Pindar's city of the violet crown. There were no philosophers in Athens. There were no ordinary workmen. There were women and children. They were ill-fed and ill-clothed.³ Death was preferable to life, and the dying pitied those whom they left behind.⁴

One of the most constant and characteristic features of the social and military life of twelfth century Attica was piracy, which the imperial government was not able to suppress. Off the coast of Attica the islands of Salamis, Aegina, and Makronesi were pirate strongholds; Michael's writings abound in references to pirates.⁵ Personally and officially Michael was harassed by pirates, who seriously wounded one of his nephews,⁶ and who pillaged the already inadequate resources of the archdiocese of Athens, not only to the detriment of his people, but also, Michael insisted, to the detriment of the imperial treasury. How could he thus render unto God what was God's or unto Caesar what was Caesar's?⁷ In the possession of money for its own sake Michael claimed to have no interest at all; whatever revenue in gold and silver the church possessed was expended on the dire needs of his people as soon as it was collected, 'and even before it was collected.'⁸

Isaac Angelus and Alexius III were unable, or too preoccupied with other matters, to deal effectively with the pirates. The Genoese pirates Vetrano and Caffaro, and many other adventurers known and unknown, ravaged the coastal cities of the empire and the islands of the Adriatic and the Aegean. The imperial government sought to meet fire with fire. Against Caffaro, in 1197-98, John Steiriones was sent with thirty ships; himself a pirate, a Calabrian by birth, Steiriones had acquired a grim notoriety in the profession of arms at sea (*πειρατῶν ὁ χείριστος*). But he distinguished himself in the emperor's service, after one serious failure, by finally ridding the seas of Caffaro. Piracy was not likely to be stamped out, however, when it not infrequently helped to swell the incomes of Byzantine grandees. While Choniates appealed to Byzantium for aid against pirates, Michael Stryphnos, Grand Admiral of the Fleet (*ὁ μέγας δούξ τοῦ στόλου*), whose wife was the sister of the Empress Euphrosyne, grew ever richer by sharing in pirate plunder and by engaging in private pillage of the ships and dockyards of the Aegean area which it was his sworn duty to defend.⁹

¹ *Ibid.*, 4 (II, 27).

² *Ep.* 64, 4 (II, 105).

³ *Ep.* 8, 1 (II, 11).

⁴ *To Demetrius Drimys*, 43-44 (Lambros, I, 176).

⁵ Choniates mentions Aegina as 'a nest of pirates' in *Ep.* 27, 8 (Lambros, II, 43). Cf. Lambros (1878), especially pp. 55-57 and 87-89.

⁶ *Ep.* 42, 5 (Lambros, II, 68).

⁷ *Ep.* 44, 5 (II, 71).

⁸ *Ep.* 156, 5 (II, 312).

⁹ Nicetas Choniates, *De Alexio Comneno, Isaacii Angeli fratre*, II (Bonn, pp. 636-637); III (p. 716). Cf. Mich. Chon., *Address to the Grand Duke Stryphnos*, 19 (Lambros, I, 331); see also II, 512-513 (note). Michael's address to Stryphnos was probably written in 1202.

The twin plagues of the maritime themes were pirates and praetors. Conditions in Attica were fearful. In an effort to save his city from further decline the Archbishop sent an appeal to the Emperor Alexius III Angelus in which 'the unworthy and humble servants of his puissant and holy Majesty presumed to petition their holy Sovereign.'¹ Michael made this appeal toward the end of 1198.

Attica, once a populous district, is being emptied of its inhabitants. The Athenians are weighed down with a load of taxation two or three times, and more, heavier than falls upon the neighboring districts. The fiscality of the tax-collectors leads them to survey Attica's barren soil 'with measures small enough to check the prints of fleas' (ἵχνεσι ψυλλῶν); the Athenians have the very hairs on their heads counted, the leaves on every vine and plant.

Other districts in Greece receive fairer treatment. Only last year the Athenians, and they alone, were mulcted of a large sum of money to build a fleet (κάτεργα). The fleet was never built. When Pansias Steiriones was ranging the coastal waters, the Athenians were pressed for more money for ships. After this they were again forced against their will to give Sgouros and the governor of Hellas still more money for ships. The district of Thebes and Euripus (Euboea) paid no such large assessment although, according to the ancient custom sanctioned by the Emperor himself, Athens should have paid less than Thebes and Euripus.²

But suppose Athens does put up with the tribute (κῆνσος), as well as with the incursions of the pirates, should she still bear without tears the high-handed abuse of the governor? The present governor (apparently resident in Thebes) has no right to collect taxes or to exercise jurisdiction in Athens, for an imperial decree (προσκυνητὸν χρυσόβουλλον), prohibits even his entry into the city with armed men.³ But he comes all the same — he comes to worship in the cathedral! (But his plunder of the Parthenon has been more barbarous than that of Xerxes; and everyone of influence in the city behaves worse than the thirty tyrants.⁴) He treats the country as though he had undertaken a raid upon some barbarian outpost. Before him stalks Ruin, so to speak, in the guise of his commissariat (ὑποδοχάτορες), who demand daily as support for his retinue and horses five hundred *medimnoi* of grain, whole herds of cattle, whole flocks of hens, a sea full of fish, and more wine than the vineyards can produce. They take unpleasant action against such Athenians as are inclined to be recalcitrant in surrendering their possessions. On top of all this they demand remuneration (μισθός), as though they were rendering the people a service (ὡς ἐεργέται τινές), and no small sum either, but gold enough to requite even their well nigh insatiable desire.⁵

The governor himself finally comes and oftentimes, even before he has made obeisance to the Mother of God, he has accused one man of not having met him,

¹ Mich. Chon., *Memorial (Hypomnestikon) to the Emperor Alexius Comnenus*, 1 (Lambros, I, 307). With this appeal to the emperor in behalf of an Athens ridden by famine, poverty, and piracy should be compared especially Choniates' address *To Demetrius Drimys*, 3 (I, 158-159) and 5 (pp. 159-160); also *Epp.* 8 (II, 11-13); 27, 3-8 (II, 41-43); and 63 (II, 102-104).

² *Hypomnestikon*, 1-3 (Lambros, I, 307-308).

³ Cf. Lambros (1878), pp. 64-65.

⁴ Mich. Chon., *Ep.* 63, 3 (Lambros, II, 103).

⁵ *Hypomnestikon*, 4-5 (Lambros, I, 308-309).

and another he imprisons and punishes on some other charge. Then, having enjoyed himself at the expense of the poor Athenians for as many days as he wishes, he seeks some sort of "honorarium" for the time he has had to give to prayers (*προσκυνητικιον*). But, of course, in such a religious group it is not only the governor who has to pray, but there is a comptroller (*λογαριαστής*), who has some praying to do, and after him a grand chamberlain (*πρωτοβεστιάριος*), and an army commander (*πρωτοκένταρχος*). Then every one in the governor's retinue takes his turn at praying, one at a time, and they prolong their devotions to make certain they don't leave Attica before they have got everything. At long last after many entreaties, and the assurance there is absolutely no more to be got, the governor is with difficulty persuaded to leave. He begins preparations for his departure. He requisitions the best pack-animal he can find, whereupon he is very likely to sell the animal back, not once, but often twice, to its rightful owner. When the governor finally does leave, the emperor may be assured that a multiplicity of things of every description leaves with him.¹

To what purpose this ruin of Attica? asks Michael: the state treasury receives no benefit; rather it suffers loss. More people abandon Attica, and the land is deserted. Michael is telling the emperor of but a few of the ills the Athenians are suffering. Through him they beseech his most clement and holy Majesty to take pity on them and to check the flood of evils that threatens to overwhelm them. In the interests of the state treasury itself the emperor is urged to free the Athenians from such plundering forays by their own governor, and, with the aid of the exalted imperial *Mystikos*, who had been appointed the Athenians' advocate (*referendarios*), to bring about the restoration of property that had been pillaged under the pretext of taxation. Another imperial rescript is asked reiterating the prohibition of entry into Athens of the governor and his staff and carrying a threat for its disregard. The Athenians may then meet the naval assessments and contribute ships, as many as may be duly required by the Lord John Ducas, Logothete of the Dromos, and no more, so that a host of officials cannot be laying claim to taxes with no imperial authorization, as is often done, under the pretext of levying a tribute in ships.²

The Athenians have borne a heavy and continuous load of taxation, which they pray may not continue to the point of overwhelming them. It is suggested that probably there are other districts in the peninsula that could be taxed, and that the remission of various imposts already granted by his Sacred Majesty should be confirmed. Michael protests also against the encroachments of the richer inhabitants of the city (*kastrenoi*) upon the peasants' holdings in the free villages (*droungoi*), which will be the ruin of Attica if the emperor does not intervene.

¹ *Ibid.*, 6 (I, 309-310). For the officials known as *logariastes*, *protovestiarios*, and *protokentarchos*, see Lambros, II, 515-516 (note); a very little can be found about the background of the *protovestiarios* and *protokentarchos* in J. B. Bury (1911) and in Stadtmüller (1934), p. 295.

² *Hypomnestikon*, 7-8 (Lambros, I, 310). The *mystikos* was a high imperial official who possessed the power of recovering for the church property that had been improperly alienated. On the functions of the *mystikos* in the present case a little can be learned from A. Ellissen, *Michael Akominatos von Chonae* (Göttingen, 1846), p. 124, n. 39, and Lambros, II, 516 (note). Cf. Stadtmüller, p. 297.

If the emperor would only do as Michael begs him, the Athenians would be saved, and the taxes they are paying would find their way into the imperial treasury. In return for their salvation the Athenians would never cease to pray for his holy Majesty, to whom they have presumed, these unworthy servants, thus to present their petition.¹

The emperor's answer to the *Hypomnestikon* was apparently to send to Athens the Grand Logothete Basil Kamateros, of whom it may be said that, if he did Athens no good, at least he did her no harm. After him, strange to say, the notorious Michael Stryphnos arrived; Stryphnos, who had but a few years before stripped the fleet by selling the naval supplies for his own profit, gave his time in Athens, as one might expect, to his private enrichment.² He caused Choniates no end of anxiety.

Despite her pirates and governors (praetors) — and despite Choniates' statements to the contrary — Athens was still a city of some importance in the later twelfth century. The fact that she was not entirely without commerce, and therefore presumably not without something to sell, would seem to follow from the apparent inclusion of the city in Byzantine commercial agreements made with the Venetians in 1148, 1187, and 1199.³ When Stryphnos visited Athens, he saw ships in the Piraeus; Michael also mentions at least one vessel from the port of Monemvasia in the Peloponnesus, and he awaited another.⁴ But in mediaeval Athens there were, alas, no *ergasteria* like those that figure in the Attic orators of the late fifth and fourth centuries B.C. Athens, in fact, seems scarcely to have engaged in the most profitable industry in Greece in the central period of the Middle Ages, the weaving of silk cloth. The leading cities of the theme of Hellas and the Peloponnesus were Thebes, Corinth, and Patras, all three of which owed their prosperity to their silk manufactures. We have Michael Choniates' own assertion that the garments of lords and ladies in Constantinople were woven by 'Theban and Corinthian fingers.'⁵ While silk cloth seems to have been woven in Athens in the very late Empire, there is no evidence that Athenians of the later twelfth century were engaged in this highly lucrative occupation. It is barely possible that there were silk weavers in Athens as late as 1146–1147, when the Norman King Roger I of Sicily is said to have taken the city, for Roger is said (in a disputed text) to have removed to Sicily some silk workers whom he chanced to find in Athens, together with those he took from Thebes and Corinth.⁶ A few

¹ *Hypomnestikon*, 9 (Lambros, I, 311). In a letter to the Belissariotae in Constantinople Choniates indicates that the tax burden upon Athens has been very greatly lessened (*Ep.* 65, 10; Lambros, I, 107); it would thus appear that for the time being at least the *Hypomnestikon* produced good results (cf. Lambros, II, 588). ² Lambros (1878), p. 97.

³ G. L. Tafel and G. M. Thomas, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig mit besonderer Beziehung auf Byzanz und die Levante*, I (Vienna, 1856), pp. 118 (Manuel Comnenus); 184 (Isaac Angelus); and 265, 279 (Alexius III Angelus). Cf. Lambros (1878), pp. 29–30.

⁴ Mich. Chon., *Ep.* 84, 3 (Lambros, II, 137).

⁵ *Ep.* 50, 10 (II, 83).

⁶ Otto of Freising, *Fridericus Imperator*, I, 33 (*MGH, Scriptores*, xx, 370): 'Inde ad interiora Graeciae progressi, Corinthum, Thebas, Athenas, antiqua nobilitate celebres expugnant . . . opifices etiam, qui sericos pannos texere solent, ob ignominiam imperatoris illius suique principis gloriam captivos deducunt.' Roger established these weavers in the Sicilian capital of Palermo, and had them

years after the Norman occupation, Benjamin of Tudela found Thebes a 'large city . . . with about two thousand Jewish inhabitants . . . the most eminent manufacturers of silk and purple cloth in all Greece.'¹ In this connection Lambros brought forward as an indication of Athens' poor economic condition the fact that there were very few Jews in the city.² The only opportunity the Athenians had to share in the considerable profits being realized by their near neighbors to the north and south of them lay in fishing for the mussels (*κογχύλια*), whence, as in antiquity, the purple dyes were made, and Michael mentions that the Athenians were engaged in this pursuit off the barren island of Gyaros with other groups from Chalcis and Carystus.³ But it is not known that the Athenians even did any purple-dyeing of cloth made elsewhere.

There was, nevertheless, some manufacturing in Athens, but it was probably of a domestic character. Michael refers to the preparation of soap and apparently to the weaving of cassocks.⁴ But the knowledge of certain essential skills appears to have declined sadly in Athens. Michael writes, for example, to the Bishop of Peristera and Gardikion (in Thessaly), which latter town Benjamin of Tudela a generation earlier had found to be 'a ruined place, containing but few Jewish or Grecian inhabitants,'⁵ and so itself no home of industry: 'Everything in Athens is poor and mean, and especially the agricultural implements; so send us wainwrights' (*ἀμαξοποιοί*).⁶ Indeed, in the very first letter that he wrote from Athens, Michael complained that 'the city is just a ruin,' for 'the bellows has failed us, there is no worker in iron among us, no worker in brass, no maker of swords, things that were still preserved to us but yesterday and the day before.'⁷

The soil of Attica in the twelfth century was probably not so fertile as it was in antiquity or as it is at the present time: Michael regarded it as 'sandy and poor.'⁸ But the olive and the vine, the twin staples of the economy of ancient Athens, still flourished in the twelfth century. Although we do not know whether olive oil was exported as an article of commerce, Michael could send his friend Isaiah of Antioch 'a full skin of oil, containing twelve [large] Attic pints' (*Χωρῶν δώδεκα ξέστας ἀττικούς*). He sent Isaiah at the same time a considerable quantity of soap and promised to send him some (woolen?) cassocks on the next ship from Antioch that stopped at Athens.⁹ The wine, however, was not good. It was sharp and bitter. 'You know how the wine of Athens,' he wrote his friend Euthymius of Neopatras, 'seems to be pressed from resinous pines rather than from clusters of grapes.'¹⁰ Honey was still produced in Attica, and the monks of the monastery of Kaisariane tended the bees on the slopes of Mt Hymettus.¹¹

teach his own weavers the art of silk manufacture, 'et ex hinc praedicta ars illa, prius a Graecis tantum inter christianos habita, Romanis patere coepit ingeniis.' Cf., however, A. A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, II (1929), 72.

¹ A. Asher, *The Itinerary of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela* (London and Berlin, 1840), p. 47.

² Lambros (1878), pp. 30-31. ³ Mich. Chon., *Ep.* 135, 2 (Lambros, II, 275).

⁴ *Ep.* 84, 3 (II, 137).

⁵ A. Asher, *Benjamin of Tudela* (1840), p. 49.

⁶ Mich. Chon., *Ep.* 43, 2 (Lambros, II, 69).

⁷ *Ep.* 8, 4 (II, 12).

⁸ *Hypomnestikon*, 2 (Lambros, I, 307).

⁹ *Ep.* 84, 3 (Lambros, II, 137).

¹⁰ *Ep.* 19, 3 (II, 25).

¹¹ *Ep.* 156, 2 (II, 311).

The production of wheat was generally inadequate, and sometimes there was famine in Athens. A lack of good wheat was doubtless a pretty constant feature of Athenian economy, and Michael complains that the bread was wretched (*τὸ καὶ ἄρτον ἐσθλὲν ὄντιον*).¹ But there seem to have been times, too, when Attica grew more wheat than she really needed herself. The district of Athens was able, Lambros believes, to contribute its share of the one hundred thousand *medimnoi* of grain purchased by the imperial government from the themes of Hellas and the Peloponnesus in 1037 to relieve a famine in Constantinople caused by a six months' drought.² Athens, furthermore, was apparently not without wheat in the following year (1038) when the themes of Thrace, Macedonia, the Strymon, and Thessalonica suffered from a famine which took its toll in northern Greece as far south as Thessaly.³ A hundred and fifty years later, however, Athens' luck in this respect had run out, and in the time of Michael Choniates the city suffered a grievous famine.⁴

By a law of Theodosius II and Valentinian III, dated 14 November, 435, all pagan shrines and temples (*si qua etiam nunc restant integra*) were ordered closed although they might be consecrated as Christian churches. It was several generations after this, and certainly after Justinian's time, that the Parthenon and Erechtheum were converted into churches.⁵ The Parthenon, because of its peculiar architecture, made an admirable church, cathedral of the Athenian Archbishop, home of the Virgin Mother of God in Athens (*Theotokos Atheniotissa*).⁶ Although the Christian Greeks, unlike the Latins and the Turks after them, do not appear to have erected any new structures on the Acropolis, they did, nevertheless, institute the first very considerable changes on the Acropolis since the close of the Peloponnesian War.

Many visitors and pilgrims came to Athens in the Middle Ages to worship in the Parthenon, but the city had other fine churches, some of which are preserved to this day. The most notable, after the Parthenon and Erechtheum, was the Hephaestum (or 'Theseum'), which Choniates knew as the Church of 'St George in the Cerameicus'.⁷ There were also in the twelfth century the little

¹ *Ep.* 19, 3 (II, 25).

² George Cedrenus, *Hist. compend.* (Bonn, II, 516). Cf. Lambros (1878), p. 28.

³ Cedrenus, *Hist. compend.* (Bonn, II, 518).

⁴ Lambros (1878), pp. 28 and 51-52.

⁵ *Codex Theodosianus*, XVI, 10, 25 (Mommson, I, 905). See J. Strzygowski, 'Die Akropolis in alt-byzantinischer Zeit,' *Mittheilungen der k. d. archaeol. Instit., Athen. Abt.*, XIV (1889), 272-273.

⁶ The *Panagia Atheniotissa* (Παναγία ἡ Ἀθηνώτισσα) is a type familiar from the extant lead seals of the Athenian Archbishops George (Xeros?) and Michael (Choniates?) as well as of a few other Byzantine dignitaries. The Virgin is portrayed with a pearl wreath on her head, her right hand on her breast, and with the infant Jesus held in her left arm.

This type is to be distinguished from the older *Panagia Blacherniotissa* (Παναγία τῶν βλαχερνῶν), which is most commonly seen on Byzantine coins, and shows the Virgin of Blachernae with the medallion of Christ on her breast. See Lambros (1878), pp. 34-38 (and seals reproduced in the appendix), and G. Schlumberger, *Sigillographie byzantine* (Paris, 1884), pp. 174 sqq.; also *Revue des études grecques*, II (1889), 245-259; V (1892), 73-93; VII (1894), 319-336.

⁷ Mich. Chon., *Ep.* 116, 4 (Lambros, II, 238).

Kapnikarea, so called from its alleged foundation by a certain Kapnikares; the Panagia Gorgopico with its curious reliefs; and the Church of Sts Theodore, which had been built a century and a quarter before Michael Choniates' arrival in Athens. A little way from the city was the shrine of the Athenian Martyr Leonidas, who had died upon the cross.¹ When the city fell to the Franks, Innocent III confirmed the right of Bérard, the Latin successor to Choniates, to mills (*molendina*), gardens and baths (*horti et balnea*), markets (*macella*), and to a score of abbeys and monasteries in Attica.² Chief among these were the abbey of Kaisariane, at the foot of storied Hymettus, whose monks kept bees; the monastery of St John the Hunter, restored apparently in Choniates' own day; and the monastery of Daphni between Athens and Eleusis. All these establishments were fitted into attractive settings, where the Greek monks could indulge their superior capacity for living.

In converting the Parthenon into a Christian church certain changes were necessitated by the basic structural difference between the church and the Greek temple. The church is entered from the west; the temple was entered from the east. It must be assumed in this article that the reader is familiar with the ground plans of the typical Greek temple, and the Parthenon and Erechtheum in particular, as well as of the Christian basilica. The accompanying plan of the Parthenon as a Byzantine church, together with its analysis, should help keep the present description of this edifice straight.

While there was ordinarily no connecting doorway in the Greek temple between the *opisthodomos* (the rear chamber on the west) and the *naos* (the sanctuary proper), it so happened that in the Parthenon there was such a passage, and in this respect the Parthenon was admirably adapted to the needs of the Christian architects. By piercing the only blank wall in the interior of the Parthenon, that between the western and eastern chambers of the large *naos* (the *parthenon* proper and the *hekatompedon* respectively of the Greek temple), a continuous passage was secured from the steps of the *opisthodomos* or west portico, through both chambers of the *naos*, into the *pronaos*, or vestibule (of the Greek temple). The original entrance at the east end of the Parthenon was enlarged and worked into an arch, behind which a shallow semi-circular apse was constructed, the curving walls of which fitted into the two central columns of the old *pronaos*, or vestibule. Thus the west end of the Parthenon, which had been the rear of the Greek temple, became the front of the Byzantine cathedral. The ancient *opisthodomos* and west chamber of the *naos* became together the narthex or vestibule of the cathedral; the east chamber of the *naos* became the nave, to the east of which was added the apse, thus closing up what had been the entrance to the Greek temple and rounding out the Christian church.

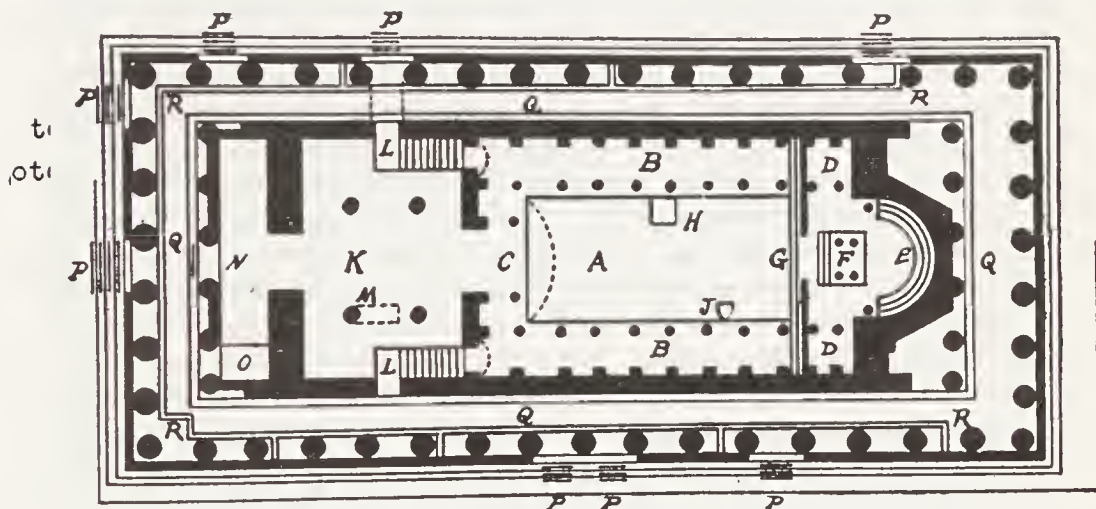
The original marble roof of the Parthenon was removed, possibly when it came to require extensive repair, but for the most part the exterior of the temple was

¹ Augustus Mommsen, *Athenae Christianae* (Leipzig, 1868), pp. 132-133; Lambros (1878), p. 40.

² Innocent III, *Ep.* 256 (*Patrologia Latina*, ccxv, 1560).

not much changed. The interior was brought into conformity with the familiar requirements of the Greek Orthodox Church. To the east of the nave was constructed the sacred *bema*, the platform to which was fastened the screen shielding

THE PARTHENON AS THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF ATHENS



From A. Michaelis, *Der Parthenon* (1871), p. 46.

This plan was drawn from the accounts of early modern travelers, especially the Vienna Anonymous (1458–60), Fr. Jacques P. Babin (1672), Jacob Spon (1676), and George Wheler (1676). Their pertinent texts, together with those of other travelers, can be studied in A. Michaelis (1871), *Anhang III*, pp. 334 sqq.

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|--|--|
| A: the nave (τὸ καθολικόν) | J: the archbishop's throne (ὁ θρόνος, τὸ δεσποτικόν) |
| BB: the side aisles (τὰ παρεκκλήσια) | K: the vestibule (ὁ νάρθηξ) |
| BBC: women's gallery (ὁ γυναικονίτης) | LL: side doors, apparently with steps to the women's gallery |
| DD: the sacred <i>bema</i> (τὸ ἄγιον βῆμα) | M: a pillar (Turkish) |
| E: the apse (ἡ κόγχη, ἄψις) | N: the outer vestibule (ὁ πρόναος) |
| F: the sacred table, the "altar" (ἡ ἁγία τράπεζα) | O: the baptistry (τὸ βαπτιστήριον) |
| G: the "beautiful door" (ἡ ὡραία πύλη) in the sanctuary wall upon which icons were painted (εἰκονοστάσιον) | PP: eight entrances into QQ, the porticoes (ἡ αὐλή) |
| H: the reading stand or lectern (ὁ ἄμβων) | RR: rain-gutters |

the holy of holies. The screen was pierced with three doors and adorned with paintings of the saints. Behind the screen was the high altar, over which was set a canopy on four porphyry columns. Over the altar, in Choniates' day, was suspended a golden dove (πελειὰς χρυσή), material symbol of the Holy Spirit, which 'moved unceasingly in its circular flight.'¹ The clergy occupied marble seats in the

¹ Mich. Chon., *To the Grand Duke Stryphnos*, 4 (Lambros, I, 325).

apse. The vaulted ceiling of the apse was decorated, it would appear, with a large mosaic, most likely of the Virgin Atheniotissa, which was described as a work of exceptional beauty by the Vienna Anonymous shortly after the Turks occupied the city (in June 1456).¹ This mosaic was later whitewashed. The sixteenth century references to the Parthenon are quite insignificant, and seventeenth-century travelers like Spon and Wheler were able to leave no description of the mosaic. A few cubes of tinsel and gilt were rescued from the debris of the apse when it was cleared away by Ludwig Ross in 1835. They are now in the British Museum. Lambros recalled that, when he was a boy, youngsters used to find such little gold cubes as a Sunday holiday sport, although naturally all these pieces did not belong to the mosaic picture of the Virgin, but had fallen from other pictures adorning the walls of the Parthenon.² In the nave of the cathedral, on the left, stood the lectern or ambon; across from it, on the right, but nearer the altar, was the archbishop's throne. The throne was an ancient marble seat, apparently one of the sixty-odd such seats in the Theater of Dionysus. It was also found in 1835, and is now in the Acropolis Museum.³

The eastern *naos* of the Parthenon had been divided, to begin with, into a nave and side aisles by two rows of columns while a short row on the west end completed the enclosure. Christian architects at an unknown date replaced these columns by smaller ones, twenty-two in number, ten of which stood on each side; the remaining two stood at the west end of the nave, one on each side of the entrance. This column arrangement supported galleries for women along both sides of the nave and over the entrance. In the galleries were twenty-three columns which supported the ceiling of the church; these columns were immediately above those which rose from the floor of the nave to support the galleries; the twenty-third column was in the short west gallery above the entrance. The galleries seem to have been ingeniously installed, and their effect may not have been displeasing.

The spaces between the columns of the *opisthodomos* were walled up, only the entrance in the center and the southernmost intercolumniation being left open. The latter doorway led into a small chapel of some sort over which the Turks later erected their minaret which is so conspicuous in drawings made of the Acropolis before the Greek Revolution. The appearance of the Parthenon was most unhappily altered when the intercolumniations of the peristyle were filled in with a heavy wall which was broken only by eight small doorways, two at the front and three on each side. It is hard to say when this wall was built, but it must have been before the time of Michael Choniates.

The walls of the vestibule and the nave, as well as the apse, were covered with paintings, very slight traces of which still survive. Lambros relates that he made a very careful study of these paintings, and he was able to distinguish two styles.

¹ Vienna Anonymous, *Τὰ θεάτρα καὶ διδασκαλεῖα τῶν Ἀθηναίων*, 11 (text in Adolf Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, Leipzig, 1871, Anh. III, 2, p. 335).

² Lambros (1878), pp. 39-40.

³ Ida C. Thallon in *Vassar Medieval Studies*, ed. Christabel F. Fiske (New Haven, 1923), pp. 297-298 and n. 112.

Although those on the wall to the right as one enters the temple from the opisthodomos are older and less well preserved, those on the left wall as one enters, and on the north, are very skilfully executed; Lambros, in fact, does not hesitate to compare them 'with the most beautiful works of the high period of Italian art' (*πρὸς τὰ κάλλιστα ἔργα τῆς ἀκμαίας παρ' Ἰταλοῖς τέχνης*).¹ It was a beautiful church. Choniates was very proud of it, and he 'further beautified it, provided new vessels and furniture, increased its property in land and in flocks and herds, and augmented the number of the clergy.'²

Like the Parthenon, when the Erechtheum was converted into a church, possibly dedicated to the Saviour,³ its orientation was reversed. The small door on the west of the temple, just north of the Porch of the Maidens, was enlarged and made into the main entrance to the church. There had been three chambers in the original Erechtheum: the western *naos*, which now became the narthex or vestibule of the church; the middle *naos*, the floor of which had the same level as the preceding chamber; and the eastern *naos*, the floor level of which was one step higher than that of the other two chambers. Since the middle and eastern chambers were combined to form the nave, the wall dividing them had to be torn down (its points of juncture are still discernible on the north and south walls of the temple); and the floor of the eastern chamber had to be torn up to reduce it to the level of the rest of the nave and of the narthex. Most of the ancient foundation of the eastern *naos* was removed in the process of reconstruction.

Parallel to the north and south walls of the Erechtheum two new walls were built at right angles to the western wall of the newly constructed nave; they seem to have held the pillars which separated the nave from its side aisles. These pillars also doubtless helped hold up the roof, which must have been of wood. Half a dozen very-small windows were cut into the outer walls to light the church. On

¹ Lambros (1878), p. 40.

² S. P. Lambros, *History of the City of Athens during the Middle Ages* (in Greek), II, 729 (trans. of Gregorovius), quoted by Wm. Miller (1908), p. 17.

On the Parthenon as a Christian church see K. Hopf (1867), p. 139; A. Mommsen, *Athenae Christianae* (Leipzig, 1868), pp. 33-40; A. Michaelis (1871), pp. 45-51; M. L. D'Ooge, *The Acropolis of Athens* (New York, 1909), pp. 307-310; and G. A. Soteriou, *Εὐρετήριο των μεσαιωνικῶν μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, I (1927), 34 ff. There is very little about Christian Athens in Leon de Laborde, *Athènes aux XV^e, XVI^e, et XVII^e siècles*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1854), a brilliant work; and nothing about the twelfth century in Émile Burnouf, *La ville et l'Acropole d'Athènes aux diverses époques* (Paris, 1877).

In this connection should be cited a valuable article by N. H. J. Westlake, 'On some Ancient Paintings in churches of Athens,' *Archaeologia*, LI, pt. 1 (1888), 173-188; plates v and vi in Westlake's article reproduce two Christian paintings in the Parthenon, the relative positions of which are shown in an accompanying diagram (p. 176). Lambros' enthusiastic estimate of the Parthenon paintings, of which very little remains (and that with coarse green and purple additions!) is hard to understand; they are much less skillfully executed than the (no longer extant) paintings from the Church of the so-called *Megale Panagia* (in the Stoa of Hadrian), which are also reproduced in Westlake's article as plates viii and ix from copies of the originals which the Marquis of Bute had made during a stay in Athens in 1885, shortly after which the originals were unfortunately destroyed by fire. The Marquis of Bute wrote his own account for the *Scottish Review*, vi (July 1885).

³ A. Mommsen (1868), pp. 40-41.

the inner walls sacred pictures were displayed, and especially on the cross wall that shut off the holy of holies at the east end of the nave. Perhaps the most striking, and certainly the least happy, alteration was the addition of the apse to the east front of the temple. To do this it was necessary to do considerable damage to the eastern portico.

It is assumed that the little temple of Athena Nike was a chapel in the Middle Ages; nothing is known of it. The Propylaea had served probably from the time of Justinian as the fortress of the Acropolis and apparently as a residence. It seems to have been the archbishop's house in the earlier Middle Ages; Choniates probably lived there, but if the front and back porticoes were left open to admit people to the summit of the Acropolis, the archbishop must have lived in very restricted quarters. It is hard to tell how much of the Propylaea was walled up to form rooms, for in 1395 the Italian notary Niccolo da Martoni saw thirteen free columns in the Propylaea, which he calls the *Sala Magna*.¹ The whole western end of the Acropolis was enclosed by massive walls and bastions, and the only break in these fortifications seems to have been the passage-way just below the Nike bastion, which thus flanked the sole approach to the Acropolis in such fashion that the invader's less protected right side would be exposed to projectiles hurled down from the bastion above him. This was, of course, the approved type of mediaeval defense tower construction; in Greece the principle was as old as the Mycenaean palace at Tiryns. In the twelfth century, although some of the ancient monuments were gone, the Acropolis was still a thing of surpassing beauty. Indeed, two centuries after Michael Choniates, da Martoni gazed upon the Acropolis, and like many a pilgrim to Athens before and after him declared, 'Impossibile videtur menti hominis quomodo ipsa tam magna hedificia construi potuerunt.'²

About the condition of famous buildings in the lower city — as well as about the condition of the lower city itself — in the twelfth century there must remain much question. Shortly after the arrival of Choniates in Athens, Niccphorus Prosouchos was appointed governor of Hellas and the Peloponnesus. Athens had long been oppressed, we are given to understand, and the Athenians expected much of Prosouchos. Choniates addressed a fervent appeal to him, a hope that then at long last the Athenians were to be freed of the hardships that weighed upon them, for Prosouchos's reputation was excellent. In his discourse Choniates represented Athens, which had once shown forth among the world's cities like the moon in the midst of the stars, but had now become poor and wretched, as herself addressing Prosouchos in plaintive tones: 'How opportunely you have come, most just and gentlest of men, how opportunely you have come to free and to redeem me from my misfortunes!' Prosouchos could see the terrible toll that

¹ Niccolo da Martoni, *Liber peregrinationis ad loca sancta* in *Revue de l'orient latin*, III (1895), 650-651: 'Deinde accessimus ad castrum ipsius civitatis [the Propylaea], quod est supra quoddam saxo marmoreo hedificatum, in quo castro est quedam sala magna in qua sunt columpne magne xiii. Supra quas columpnas sunt trabes longi pedibus triginta, et supra ipsas trabes sunt tabule marmoree: magnum et mirabile opus videtur.'

² *Ibid.*, p. 651.

time had taken of the sometime queen of cities, now reduced to a ruin, small and unpeopled, the glory of yesteryear recognizable only in her name and in her ruins. Once the mother of wisdom and the preceptress of valor, the conqueror of Persia on land and sea, Athens was now at the mercy of pirates, 'wild beasts that devour whole cities, men and all, and strip to nothing both the land and the sea!' Athens had drunk deep of the cup of hunger, thirst, and poverty. 'But come now, give me your hand as I lie upon the ground, help me in my peril, restore my life as I perish, that I may inscribe the name of Prosouchos beside those of Themistocles, Miltiades, and the just Aristides. . . .'¹ The appeal to Prosouchos was not entirely without effect, as Choniates later acknowledged in a letter to Demetrius Tornikes, for by action of the Emperor Alexius II Comnenus, at the behest of Prosouchos, not Athens alone, but Euripus (Euboea) and Corinth also secured some relief from the hard fiscality of Byzantine procurators.²

In his address to Demetrius Drimys, who was governor of Hellas and the Peloponnesus some time after Prosouchos, being appointed by Andronicus I Comnenus probably in 1183, Michael painted the same dismal picture of Athens and of the ruin of her monuments.

'I see,' he told Drimys, 'that you cannot look upon Athens without tears.' Michael did not complain that the city had lost her ancient glory: it had been a long time indeed since that was taken from her. Now she had lost the very form, appearance, and character of a city. Her walls had been stripped and demolished; the homes of her people had been razed to the ground, and their very sites were under cultivation. He recalled the destruction of Thebes by the Macedonian. Time and its dread ally, envy, had dealt more barbarously with the Athenians than the Persians had done. 'Try your utmost,' he invited Drimys, 'but you could not find a trace of the Heliæa, the Peripatos or the Lyceum!' All Drimys could see would be the rocky hill of the Areopagus. In the meager remains of the Stoa Poikile, Choniates declares, sheep were grazing (*μηλόβοτον*)!³

The Agora had become in Choniates' day, like the Roman Forum in the days of Dante and Rienzi, a *campo vaccino*. One thinks of Vergil's verses to which Time gave a dreadful irony. As Evander and Aeneas, some centuries before the founding of Rome, looked over the few acres that were to be the center of the world

passimque armenta videbant
Romanoque foro et lautis mugire Carinis.

The reader would do well to think of cows lowing in the Boston Common and the Harvard Yard.

In after years Michael was to chide Drimys for his unwillingness to return to Athens a second time as governor of the theme of Hellas. The grandees of Constantinople were unwilling, he claimed, even to peep outside the walls and gates of the capital. The provinces were drained of their resources to keep the city of Constantinople in luxury. They were repaid in pillage and injustice. What did the

¹ Mich. Chon., *Address to the Praetor Nicephorus Prosouchos*, 3, 15-18 (Lambros, I, 143, 147-148).

² Mich. Chon., *Ep.* 32, 9 (Lambros, II, 54).

³ Mich. Chon., *To Demetrius Drimys*, 5 (Lambros, I, 159-160).

Constantinopolitans lack? Were not the wheat fields of Macedonia, Thrace, and Thessaly tilled for them? Was not the wine of Euboea and Pteleum (in Phthiotis), of Chios and Rhodes pressed for them? Did not Theban and Corinthian fingers weave costly garments for them? The empire was literally drained of its possessions, and they found their way into the imperial city, just as though whole rivers were flowing into one great sea.¹ But for Athens Choniates could make no claim to the gratitude of Constantinople.

Choniates seems to have known very little about the famous buildings in the Agora except for the Stoa Poikile (if he is identifying it properly), which is unknown to us today, since it lies to the north beneath the Athens-Piraeus Railway. It would be very interesting to know the state of preservation at the end of the twelfth century of some of the Agora buildings which were excavated by the American School of Classical Studies in Athens from 1931 to 1939 and have been reported in the fascinating volumes of *Hesperia*. Very likely Choniates could not have identified with much accuracy whatever ruins, if any, were above ground in his day. (Where were the Stoa of Attalus, the Long and South Stoas, the Agora Odeion, the Eleusinion, the Tholos, the Bouleuterion, the Metroon, the Temple of Apollo Patroos, and the Stoa Basilike? Michael never refers to them or to buildings which we may associate with them.) In Choniates' day there must have been more considerable remains of some of these buildings than the flat foundation masonry laid bare by the American excavators a few years ago.

We search in vain in the extant works of Choniates for mention of some of the most famous and impressive remains in Athens. He never mentions the famous gates, such as the Dipylon, Acharnian, and the rest, although they figure prominently in much of the literature he seems to have read; but perhaps his omission is not so unusual if the city walls were as dilapidated as he claims. He never refers to the Stoa of Hadrian (unless this is what he takes to be the Stoa Poikile), the Tower of the Winds, the Odeum of Herodes Atticus, the Theater of Dionysus, the Arch of Hadrian, the Olympieum, the Philopappus monument, or the huge Stadium. He does not refer to the aqueduct of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius. We learn nothing from him of the remains of the Academy, although he recalls Plato's description of the Academy as the most unhealthful district in Attica.² The choregic monument of Lysicrates he refers to as 'the lantern of Demosthenes,' which is the first known mention of the monument by this name.³ The story that lies behind the name, like so much of mediaeval Athens, is lost to us today.

Although Michael Choniates stood out for about a quarter of a century as the brave protector of the Athenians, he had finally to succumb to the vastly superior forces of the Fourth Crusaders under Boniface, Marquis of Montferrat, who had received the Kingdom of Thessalonica as his share of the toppling Byzantine empire. Early in 1204 Michael's energy saved Athens from capture by the archon Leon Sgouros of Nauplia, who had already 'seduced Argos and stolen

¹ Mich. Chon., *Ep.* 50, 1, 8-10 (Lambros, II, 81, 83).

² *Ep.* 132, 8 (II, 269).

³ Mich. Chon., *Inaugural Address (Eisbaterios)*, 14 (Lambros, I, 98; see also Lambros' note on p. 451.) Gregorovius, *Stadt Athen*, I (1889), 240-242.

Corinth,' according to Michael's brother Nicetas Choniates, who glories in his relationship to the valiant shepherd of the flock at Athens.¹ Having failed to take Athens, Sgouros managed to occupy Thebes; he then passed on through Thermopylae to Larissa, where he found the fugitive Emperor Alexius III Angelus, whose daughter Eudoxia he received in marriage. Although Sgouros decided upon a stand at Thermopylae against the invading Franks, he dared not emulate Leonidas and fled back to the Peloponnesus, where he shut himself up in his stronghold at Acrocorinth.² Boniface overran Phthiotis, Phocis, Locris, and Boeotia; he presently appeared before the walls of Athens; the Provençal troubadour Rambaut de Vaqueiras has testified to the brilliance of the campaign.³ Choniates surrendered the city to Boniface. Resistance was futile. Although his brother Nicetas thought the city might have been defended against the Crusaders, Michael was not one to enjoy the prospect of *Athenae contra mundum*. He withdrew from the city. Boniface granted Attica as a fief to one of his nobles, Othon de la Roche, a Burgundian, who soon was also made Lord of Thebes and Boeotia. In this connection the several versions of the *Chronicle of the Morea* give a thrilling account, which does not, however, belong to the history of Athens in the twelfth century. In Choniates' place a Latin, Bérard, was appointed Archbishop of Athens. In 1208 Innocent III wrote to Bérard that the citadel of far-famed Pallas had fallen, and those who had raised an altar to a God they did not know might now come to know Him.⁴

With the Latin occupation of Athens the beautiful Church of the Panagia, the ancient Parthenon, was plundered;⁵ Michael's library, collected with painstaking care in Constantinople and in Athens, was carelessly scattered by its new possessors.⁶ With a heavy heart and a light purse Michael wandered through northeastern Greece for almost a year. He finally settled on the island of Ceos, where like Adam cast out of Eden, as he puts it, he looked with longing across the waters of the Saronic Gulf to the shores of Attica.⁷ He spent the last, long years of his life at Ceos, returning to Athens in 1216 for only one brief and perilous visit; he left in haste, for he feared himself to become a feast for Latin teeth (*τοῖς ἰταλικοῖς . . . ὀδοῦσιν . . . κατάβρωμα*).⁸ He died about 1222 and is said to have been buried at St John the Baptist in Ceos. The exact site of his grave is no longer known, but the monastery church has long served as a public school.⁹

From the years of his residence at Ceos has come about half of his extant correspondence. During these years he refused the repeated invitations of Theodore Lascaris and Michael Autoreianos to reside with them at Nicaea or to become Archbishop of Naxos; he also refused the invitations of the rugged Theodore Du-

¹ Nicetas Choniates, *Urbs capta*, 8 (Bonn, pp. 800-803).

² *Ibid.*, 9 (Bonn, pp. 803-807). Lambros (1878), pp. 99-104.

³ Oscar Schultz-Gora, *Le epistole del trovatore Rambaldo di Vaqueiras al marchese Bonifazio I di Monferrato*, trans. G. del Noce (Florence, 1898), *Ep.* 3, vv. 26-50 (p. 66; see also notes on pp. 134-136).

⁴ Innocent III, *Ep.* 256 (*PL* 215, 1559-1560).

⁵ Mich. Chon., *Monody on His Brother Nicetas Choniates*, 36 (Lambros, I, 357).

⁶ S. P. Lambros, 'On the Library of the Metropolitan of Athens, Michael Acominatus' (in Greek), *Athenaion*, VI (1878), 354 sqq. Cf. Lambros, I, *Eisag.*, p. κδ'.

⁷ Mich. Chon., *Epp.* 93, 1 (Lambros, II, 148); 129, 7 (II, 259).

⁸ *Ep.* 165, 3 (II, 326-327).

⁹ A. Meliarakes, *Andros and Ceos* (in Greek), Athens, 1880, p. 225. Lambros, I, *Eisag.*, p. κε'. but see the "Addendum" appended to this article.

cas "Comnenus" to go to Epirus. He was old and his health was poor, and he much preferred his island refuge. He came, too, to love the island of Ceos and wrote a long poem *Theano* (457 hexameter verses), in which he celebrated the greatness of Ceos, her cities and her heroes.¹

In the Comnenian Renaissance of learning and literature Athens played no part although her name was revered by classicist scholars of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Cosmas of Aegina, who became Patriarch of Constantinople in 1146, and Bardanes, later Archbishop of Corcyra, both bore the surname Atticus, an appellative of distinction, it would appear, even in the twelfth century; in Michael's own day, too, an Athenian, John, became Archbishop of Thessalonica. There are, moreover, a few fine manuscripts that bear witness to having been copied in twelfth century Athens, notably a Venetian manuscript containing the works of St Basil, to which Gregorovius has called attention in this connection.² The local clergy, however, were attracted neither to a good life nor an intellectual one. The guardian of the sacred vessels (σκευοφύλαξ), until Michael transferred his duties to another, had been blind and illiterate. When Michael removed him, since he was obviously unable to keep a check on what he could not see, he threatened to carry his protest to the Patriarch in Constantinople.³ Another priest at Athens had cheated his brother, also a priest, out of their father's property and left him in dire want.⁴ They were an evil lot, those priests (οἱ μοχθηρότεροι κληρικοί).⁵ The ignorance of the Athenians staggered their archbishop. They were very infrequent church-goers; they were loath to attend divine services either in the cathedral or in the other churches in the city.⁶ When they attended his sermons, Michael complained, it was chiefly to chatter among themselves. His remonstrances that they should not waste their time of prayer in trifling talk and gossip the Athenians answered with scuffling feet and wandering minds.⁷

But Michael Choniates' chief love remained Athens. In fact, love of Athens moved him to write verse, scarcely poetry, in her honor, as he 'played with shadows of the past,' and sought to find traces in his day of Athens' former greatness. Time, he lamented, had sunk her beauties 'in the depths of oblivion.' Choniates loved Athens as Ixion had loved Hera; he dwelt in Athens, he lamented, but he saw no Athens anywhere. The courts and jurors, the speakers' platforms, the voting and law-making, the leadership and persuasive speech of the orators, the councils, the festivals, the high commands of soldiery on land and sea, and the

¹ The text is to be found in Lambros, II, 375-390.

² V. Gardthausen, *Griechische Paläographie* (Leipzig, 1879), p. 412, cited by Gregorovius, *Stadt Athen*, I (1889), 227.

³ Mich. Chon., *Ep.* 21 (Lambros, II, 30-34).

⁴ *Ep. to Mich. Acom. from George Tornikes*, 10 (Lambros, II, 417), but see Preface.

⁵ Mich. Chon., *Ep.* 116, 13 (II, 240).

⁶ Mich. Chon., *First Catechetical Discourse*, 26 (Lambros, I, 116): Οὐτε γὰρ εἰς τὸν περικαλλέστατον καὶ οὐράνιον τοῦτον οἶκον ἐκκλησιάζετε οὔτε μὴν εἰς τοὺς ἑτέρους θαμίζετε . . .

⁷ Mich. Chon., (*Fourth*) *Homily*, 21 (Lambros, I, 195): τοῖνον καὶ πρώτην ταύτην ἐντολὴν ὑμῖν δίδωμι, μὴ κατατρίβειν τὸν καιρὸν τῆς εὐχῆς εἰς ἀκαίρους ὁμιλίας καὶ περιττὰς καὶ τοὺς μὲν πόδας πατοῦντας ἔχειν τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὸ ἔδαφος, τὴν δὲ διάνοιαν εἰς μερίμνας ἀποπλανᾶν ἀνοήτους βιωτικὰς.

Muse of Athens, the very soul of eloquence — where were all these? 'The glory of Athens has wholly perished!'¹

Choniates has painted a dismal picture of twelfth century Athens. Lambros has suggested caution in accepting it. He calls attention to the fact that the Arab geographer Idrisi (1153) described Athens as 'a well populated city surrounded by gardens and cultivated fields.'² A little more than a decade later the Patriarch Lucas Chrysoberges (1166) described Attica as 'a prosperous country' (πανευδαίμων χώρα).³ Although Choniates' Jeremiads are doubtless not unexaggerated, and although he is sometimes inconsistent in his appraisal of conditions in Athens, such casual references as those in Idrisi and Chrysoberges, which show no real knowledge of Athens at all, cannot in any sense constitute refutation of the abundant testimony of Choniates that in his day life in Athens was hard and bare and unhappy. Probably Choniates was not far from the truth when he wrote to Basil Kamateros — we must always make allowance for Byzantine rhetoric — that Athens had been a glorious city, but it was no longer alive. The very name of Athens would have perished from the memory of men, had not its continued existence been secured by the valiant deeds of the past and by famous landmarks, the Acropolis, the Areopagus, Hymettus, and Piraeus, which like some unalterable work of nature were beyond the envy and destruction of time.⁴

¹ The poem (thirty iambic verses) is to be found in Lambros, II, 397-398.

² See P. A. Jaubert, *Geographie d'Édrisi (Recueil de voyages et de mémoires publié par la société de géographie, Paris, vol. VI), II (1840), p. 295.*

³ Lambros (1878), pp. 54-55.

⁴ Mich. Chon., *Address to the Logothete Basil Kamateros*, 13 (Lambros, I, 316).

A D D E N D U M

As indicated above in note 1 on p. 186, Stadtmüller has shown that Sp. P. Lambros was right in maintaining the date of Michael's arrival in Athens as Archbishop to be 1182 (Stadtmüller, *op. cit.*, pp. 279-281) even though Lambros had misread, after Pittakes and Kirchhoff, the dates of the Parthenon inscriptions which record the deaths of Michael's predecessors Leon Xeros and George Bourtzes (in *Corpus inscriptionum graecarum*, IV [1877], nos. 9371 and 9372), which appeared to indicate that Xeros died in 1182 and Bourtzes in 1190, whence, since Xeros' death was thus placed in the year which Lambros believed Michael first came to Athens, Xeros was assumed to have been Michael's immediate predecessor. A correct reading of the inscriptions, however, reveals George Bourtzes to have died in 1160 (and Xeros to have preceded him); Bourtzes was thus Michael's predecessor, and 1182 is certainly the date of Michael's coming to Athens. Shortly after his arrival in the city, Michael addressed the praetor Nicephorus Prosouch, during the joint reign of Alexius II and Andronicus I Comnenus from May of 1182 to September of the following year (Michael speaks of them together in his *Address to Nicephorus Prosouch*, 5, ed. Sp. P. Lambros, I [1879], p. 143), which makes it clear that he was residing in his metropolitan see, at the very latest, in September of 1183

(Stadtmüller, *op. cit.*, pp. 240–241, 280). Michael's reference to the Attic dialect of his day which it took him three years to learn comes in a letter (*Ep.* 28, 3, ed. Lambros, II [1880], p. 44) which was written in the fall or winter of 1185 (Stadtmüller, *op. cit.*, pp. 243, 280). Further, Michael's statement in the *Monody on His Brother Nicetas Choniates*, 36 (ed. Lambros, I, 357–358) that he had been Archbishop of Athens for more than thirty years now obviously means — as Lambros had insisted, and from which Gregorovius, *Stadt Athen*, I (1889), 211, had dissented — “more than thirty years” before his delivery of the *Monody*, which fixes Nicetas' death between 1212 and 1214–1215 (Lambros, *Athens Towards the End of the Twelfth Century* [in Greek], Athens, 1878, pp. 20–24; Gregorovius-Lambros, *History of the City of Athens* [in Greek], Athens, 1904, I, 277–279; Stadtmüller, *op. cit.*, pp. 256–257, 280–281). Finally, after Stadtmüller and Johannes Dräseke, ‘Eustathios und Michael Akominatos,’ *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*, xxiv (Leipzig, 1913), pp. 495–498, one can possibly see in passages in Michael's own works evidence of his having shared with the Patriarch Theodosius the dangers of the riots in Constantinople on 2 May, 1182 — *Ep.* 6, 5–6 (ed. Lambros, II, 9) and *Inaugural Address*, 10–11 (I, 96). (Dräseke, *op. cit.*, p. 497, cf. p. 488, suggests that Michael may have succeeded his teacher Eustathios as dean of the cathedral church of Santa Sophia when in 1175 the latter left Constantinople to become Archbishop of Thessalonica.)

Shortly after Michael's only visit to Athens about 1216, a dozen years after his flight from the city toward the end of 1204 when the Burgundians occupied the city,¹ he left the island of Ceos (in 1217), where he had spent some twelve years in exile (from the end of the year 1205), and went to Euboea, and from there to the monastery of St John the Baptist in Mountinitza, the Frankish Boudonitza, at the pass of Thermopylae (according to Stadtmüller, *op. cit.*, pp. 205–206). The fortress town of Boudonitza was, in Michael's day, the fief of its real founder, Guido Pallavicini, Lord of Boudonitza until his death in 1237 and bailie of the Latin kingdom of Salonica in 1221–1222 (Chas. Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues*, Berlin, 1873, p. 478). Michael died at Boudonitza, it is alleged about the year 1222 (Stadtmüller, *op. cit.*, pp. 205 *et sqq.*, 256). “This seems,” says William Miller in this connection, ‘at least doubtful’ (*English Historical Review*, L (1935), 540).

Stadtmüller has prepared a new text of the short *Hypomnestikon* which Michael sent to the Emperor Alexius III by his secretary Thomas late in 1198 or early in 1199 (Lambros, I, 307–311). In his notes to the obscure last paragraph of the *Hypomnestikon*, Stadtmüller, *op. cit.*, pp. 286, 299–305, has shown that Michael is not concerned with the billeting of troops in Attica, but is appealing to the Emperor to see to it that holdings in free peasant villages (δροῦγγοι) are spared further encroachment by well-to-do inhabitants of the city (καστρηνοί), for the absorption of these agricultural communities by the local magnates of Attica will be the ruin of the whole district, Michael affirms (ἡ δὲ τῶν δροῦγγων ἀπώλεια τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰοῦν παντός ἐστιν ἀπώλεια), if the Emperor does not come to their aid.

IV

THE CATALANS IN GREECE

1311-1380

When night descended on the battlefield of the Cephissus on Monday, March 15, in the year 1311, the last day of Burgundian greatness in Greece had drawn to a dark and tragic close. Never again would a Frankish duke of Athens disport himself with confident pride and rich panoply in a tournament in Greece, as had Guy II de la Roche in the famed Corinthian lists of a half dozen years before. In the marshes of the Cephissus Walter of Brienne, last Burgundian duke of Athens, had perished with, it was claimed, seven hundred knights, and the Catalan Grand Company now took over the duchy of Athens and Thebes, together with the wives of the many Frenchmen they had slain.

Extensive bibliographies of Catalan activity in the Levant in the fourteenth century, together with much related material, may be found in Kenneth M. Setton, *Catalan Domination of Athens, 1311-1388* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948), pp. 261-301, and in *The Cambridge Medieval History*, IV-1 (1966), 908-938. There is another bibliographical survey in Salvatore Tramontana, "Per la storia della 'Compagnia Catalana' in Oriente," *Nuova rivista storica*, XLVI (1962), 58-95; see also R. Ignatius Burns, S.J., "The Catalan Company and the European Powers, 1305-1311," *Speculum*, XXIX (1954), 751-771. At about the same time as the appearance of the *Catalan Domination of Athens*, which contains (pp. 286-291) a discussion of the works of the great Catalan historian Antoni Rubió i Lluch (1855-1937), the Institut d'Estudis Catalans in Barcelona published Rubió's *Diplomatari de l'Orient català*, which issued from the press at the end of the year 1947, and which forms a landmark in the historiography of the Catalans in Greece and elsewhere in the Levant in the fourteenth century. During a scholarly career of over half a century Rubió i Lluch published some forty books, articles, and monographs on his countrymen in Greece, several of which are cited below.

During the twenty-five years since *Catalan Domination* appeared, various works have added substantially to our knowledge of the Catalan states in Athens and Neopatras. Especially important have been the studies of Raymond J. Loenertz, O.P., "Athènes et Néopatras: Regestes et notices pour servir à l'histoire des duchés catalans (1311-1394)," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, XXV (1955), 100-212, 428-431; "Athènes et Néopatras: Regestes et documents pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique des duchés catalans (1311-1395)," *ibid.*, XXVIII (1958), 5-91; and "Hospitaliers et Navarrais en Grèce (1376-1383): Regestes et documents," *Orientalia Christiana periodica*, XXII (1956), 319-360. Other pertinent articles by Loenertz include "Pour l'histoire du Péloponèse au XIV^e siècle (1382-1404)," *Études byzantines*, I (1943), 152-196; "Généalogie des Ghisi, dynastes

The Grand Company had first been organized by Roger de Flor of Brindisi, a turncoat Templar, shortly after the twenty years' war between the houses of Anjou and Aragon over possession of the island of Sicily had finally ended in the treaty of Caltabellotta (August 31, 1302). Members of the Company had helped maintain the energetic king Frederick II upon the throne of Sicily (1296–

vénitiens dans l'Archipel (1207–1390)," *Orientalia Christiana periodica*, XXVIII (1962), 121–172, 322–335; "La Chronique brève de 1352," *ibid.*, XXIX (1963), 331–356, and XXX (1964), 39–64; "Les Querini, comtes d'Astypalée (1413–1537)," *ibid.*, XXX (1964), 385–397; "Une Page de Jérôme Zurita relative aux duchés catalans de Grèce (1386)," *Revue des études byzantines*, XIV (1956), 158–168; and "La Chronique brève moréote de 1423," in *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, II-1 (*Studi e testi*, no. 232; Vatican City, 1964), 399–439. A few of these articles, but unfortunately not those in the *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* (the most important for our purpose), have recently been reprinted in R. J. Loenertz, *Byzantina et Franco-Graeca*, ed. Peter Schreiner (Rome, 1970).

Among other recent works mention must be made of Antoine Bon's important study of *La Morée franque: Recherches historiques, topographiques et archéologiques sur la principauté d'Achaïe (1205–1430)* (2 vols., Paris, 1969). Jean Longnon has written a well-known account of *L'Empire latin de Constantinople et la principauté de Morée* (Paris, 1949), and D. A. Zakythinos, *Le Despotat grec de Morée* (2 vols., Paris & Athens, 1932–53. Rev. ed. Variorum, London, 1975). Freddy Thiriet has published the extremely useful *Régestes des délibérations du sénat de Venise concernant la Romanie* (3 vols., Paris and The Hague, 1958–1961), as well as a very readable book on *La Romanie vénitienne au moyen-âge: Le Développement et l'exploitation du domaine colonial vénitien (XII^e–XV^e siècles)* (Paris, 1959). The Catalans figure prominently in Paul Lemerle's unusual monograph on *L'Émirat d'Aydin, Byzance et l'Occident: Recherches sur "La Geste d'Umur Pacha"* (Paris, 1957). The once-perplexing problem of a Catalan duchess of Athens and some "mysterious documents" was cleared up in K. M. Setton, "Archbishop Pierre d'Ameil in Naples and the Affair of Aimon III of Geneva (1363–1364)," *Speculum*, XXVIII (1953), 643–691. Wilhelm de Vries, S.J., has given us a survey of papal efforts against schismatics and heretics in the fourteenth century, in "Die Päpste von Avignon und der christliche Osten," *Orientalia Christiana periodica*, XXX (1964), 85–128, and we may also note the monograph by F. J. Boehlke, Jr., *Pierre de Thomas: Scholar, Diplomat, and Crusader* (Philadelphia, 1966), and that by G. Fedalto, *Simone Atumano, monaco di studio, arcivescovo latino di Tebe* (Brescia, 1968). On the latter subject, cf. also K. M. Setton, "The Archbishop Simon Atumano and the Fall of Thebes to the Navarrese in 1379," *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher*, XVIII (1945–1949, publ. in 1960), 105–122, which study, together with the one on Pierre d'Ameil referred to above (as well as a number of others), has just been reprinted in *Europe and the Levant in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (London, 1974).

Of various articles by Anthony T. Luttrell, in addition to those cited in the notes to chapter VIII, below, special attention should be called to the following: "The Principality of Achaia in 1377," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, LVII (1964), 340–345; "The Latins of Argos and Nauplia, 1311–1394," *Papers of the British School at Rome*, XXXIV (new series, vol. XXI, 1966), 34–55; "Malta and the Aragonese Crown (1282–1530)," *Journal of the Faculty of Arts, Royal Malta University*, III-1 (1965), 1–9, and "The House of Aragon and Malta: 1282–1412," *ibid.*, IV-2 (1970), 156–168; "John Cantacuzenus and the Catalans at Constantinople," in *Martínez Ferrando, Archivero: Miscelánea de estudios dedicados a su memoria* (1968), pp. 265–277; and "Venezia e il principato di Acaia: secolo XIV," *Studi veneziani*, X (1968), 407–414. Cf. in general F. Giunta, *Aragonesi e Catalani nel Mediterraneo* (2 vols., Palermo, 1953–1959); C. E. Dufourcq, *L'Espagne catalane et le Maghrib aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles* (Paris, 1966); and J. A. Robson, "The Catalan Fleet and Moorish Sea-power (1337–1344)," *English Historical Review*, LXXIV (1959), 386–408. The feudal

1337), to the great humiliation of pope Boniface VIII and the Angevins in Naples. With the advent of peace they needed employment, which they found, under Roger's command, in the service of the Byzantine emperor Andronicus II Palaeologus,¹ who hoped to use their strength against the newly risen power of the Ottoman Turks in Asia Minor. In September 1303 Roger de Flor and the chief body of the Company had arrived in Constantinople, having sacked the island of Ceos on the way (August 18, 1303). The Turks in Asia Minor soon felt the heavy force of their arms and learned of their prowess. Roger was ambitious, however, and having married into the imperial family, he became, as the months passed, an object of not unwarranted suspicion in the capital. It was feared that he might prefer the part of a ruler to that of a defender of the empire. At the end of April 1305 he was murdered by the Palaeologi, but the Catalan Company, which had come to include Turks in their ranks, held much of the Gallipoli peninsula until June 1307; thereafter they moved westward rapidly, ravaging Thrace and Macedonia; by the end of August 1307 they were at Cassandrea in the Chalcidic peninsula; in the spring and summer of 1308 we find them menacing the monks of Mt. Athos; in the spring of 1309 they entered the plains of Thessaly, and a year later passed into the employ of duke Walter I of

world of Latin Greece is depicted in David Jacoby, "Les Archontes grecs et la féodalité en Morée franque," *Travaux et mémoires*, II (Paris, 1967), 421-481. Jacoby has also written on "La 'Compagnie catalane' et l'état catalan de Grèce: Quelques aspects de leur histoire," *Journal des savants*, 1966, pp. 78-103, and has produced the most discerning work thus far written on the "Assizes of Romania," the feudal law code of Frankish Greece, in *La Féodalité en Grèce médiévale* (Paris and The Hague, 1971). Although the Catalans in Athens, Thebes, and Neopatras lived under the "laws of Aragon and the customs of Barcelona" (*fori Aragonie vel consuetudines Barchinonie*), a knowledge of the Assizes adds much to one's understanding of the political and social conditions which obtained in the Latin states neighboring upon the Catalan duchies in Greece. On such conditions within these duchies, see Setton, "Catalan Society in Greece in the Fourteenth Century," in the dedicatory volume to the late Basil Laourdas, now in the press in Thessaloniki.

1. The account of Raymond Muntaner, who was close to Roger de Flor, makes clear that the initiative for the Company's employment by Andronicus II lay with Roger, who was fluent in Greek (*Crònica*, ch. CXIX, ed. Karl Lanz, *Chronik des edlen En Ramon Muntaner* [Stuttgart, 1844], p. 358; ed. E. B. [Enric Bogue], 9 vols. in 2, VI [Barcelona, 1951], 20). At the time of their departure from Messina the Company consisted of 1,500 horse, some 4,000 *almogàvers* (Castilian, *almogávares*), and 1,000 other footsoldiers, all of whom were Catalans or Aragonese (ch. CCI, Lanz, p. 361; E. B., VI, 22; and cf. ch. CCIII). They were later reinforced by 300 horse and 1,000 *almogàvers* (ch. CCXI, Lanz, p. 376; E. B., VI, 41), but after the murder of Roger de Flor, the Byzantines allegedly killed so many of the Company that only 3,307 men, both horse and foot, remained (ch. CCXV, Lanz, p. 382; E. B., VI, 47). These numbers were further reduced by an encounter with the Genoese, leaving only 206 horse and 1,256 foot, according to Muntaner (ch. CCXV, CCXIX, Lanz, pp. 383, 386; E. B., VI, 48, 52), but before leaving Gallipoli the Company was joined by a Turkish force of 800 horse and 2,000 foot (ch. CCXXVIII, Lanz, p. 405; E. B., VI, 76), and more Catalans and Aragonese were subsequently added to their forces.

Athens.² They served him for six months against the Greek rulers of Thessaly and Epirus and against the emperor Andronicus himself; they won him lands and castles in southern Thessaly; and when his use for them was done, he sought to dismiss them, although he still owed them four months' wages. He chose from among them two hundred knights and three hundred *almogàvers*; to these he paid what he owed them, gave them lands, and enfranchised them; the others he ordered to be gone. But the Company claimed the right to hold of him, as fiefs, some strongholds which they had taken in southern Thessaly, and which they refused to give up to him, for they had nowhere else to go.

The duke of Athens and the Catalan Company spent the fall and winter of 1310–1311 in preparation for the struggle which should decide who would go and who would stay. The Company was

2. The chronology of the movements of the Catalan Company has caused much difficulty. Roger de Flor and the Company arrived in Constantinople some time in September 1303 (their arrival has often been, by error, referred to the second half of 1302): they are declared in a Venetian document dated September 27, 1319, to have sacked the island of Ceos, on their way, on August 18, 1303 (G. M. Thomas, ed., *Diplomatarium veneto-levantinum*, I [1880, repr. 1965], no. 76, p. 138, and cf. nos. 77, 79, pp. 149, 163; Rubió, *Dipl.*, doc. CXI, p. 135, and cf. doc. CXIII, pp. 137–138). The Company had more or less fixedly encamped in Gallipoli by October 1304, where they remained, after the murder of Roger de Flor (April 30, 1305), until June 1307; all the events described in Muntaner, *Crònica*, ch. CCXXX–CCXXXVI (ed. Lanz, pp. 407–423; ed. E. B., VI, 78–99), took place in June, July, and August of 1307. Rubió's *Dipl.*, docs. I–XLIV, pp. 1–55, is a most valuable and convenient assemblage of documents concerning the Company's eastern expedition and its early leaders, especially Berenguer de Entença.

The Greeks had reason to fear the Catalans. Although on October 30, 1303, king James II of Aragon wrote Berenguer de Entença and Roger de Flor, thanking them for their assistance in arranging a projected alliance with emperor Andronicus II Palaeologus (*Dipl.*, doc. IX, pp. 9–10), the intentions of Roger de Flor became not unreasonably suspect by the early summer of 1304, when his former employer king Frederick II of Sicily may have entertained the hope of conquering the Byzantine empire (*Dipl.*, doc. XI, pp. 11–12, dating from early July 1304: "Item fa a saber lo dit senyor rey Frederic . . . que ell [enten] sopra lo feit de Romania, ço es asaber de conquerirla . . ."). A letter of May 10, 1305, written by Entença from Gallipoli to Peter Gradenigo, doge of Venice, relates that "ad presens guerificamus cum domino imperatore [Andronico II Palaeologo]," and informs him briefly "de statu nostro et homicidio infideliter facto [i.e., Rogerii] de mandato eiusdem domini imperatoris per Michaellem [IX] filium eiusdem" (*I Libri commemoriali della repubblica di Venezia: Regesti*, lib. I, no. 240, ed. R. Predelli, I [Venice, 1876], 51; published in full in *Dipl.*, doc. XIV, pp. 15–16). The memorandum published by Heinrich Finke, *Acta aragonensia*, II (Berlin and Leipzig, 1908), no. 431, pp. 681–686, and reprinted by Rubió, *Dipl.*, doc. XV, pp. 16–19, summarily traces the history of the Company from Sicily through some of their eastern adventures until Entença was captured by Genoese assisting the emperor, and up to the point where the Catalans achieved an obscure victory over the Greeks about July 1, 1305 (on which see in general the data in Franz Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches*, part 4 [Munich and Berlin, 1960], nos. 2246, 2249, 2252, 2258, 2263, 2268–2269, 2271, 2273–2274, 2277–2279, 2281–2282, 2285, pp. 38–46, and Roger Sablonier, *Krieg und Kriegerum in der Crònica des Ramon Muntaner* [Berne and Frankfurt am M., 1971]).

rejoined by their five hundred fellows, who preferred the yellow banner with the red bars to the gold and azure of Brienne. Thus it came about that the Company, with their Turkish allies, met Walter and his Frankish army on the right bank of the river Cephissus, as Muntaner says, "in a beautiful plain near Thebes."³ On the field of battle the duke of Athens and his knights, assembled from most of the Latin states in Greece, displayed the reckless courage of their class; they made a dashing attack upon the enemy; men and horses charged into prepared ditches; they piled upon one another; they sank into the bogs and marshes, covered with a treacherous sward of green; they were shot down by arrows, ridden down by horses, cut down by knives. The Frankish losses were fearful; Walter of Brienne was killed; it was a catastrophe from which there was to be no recovery.

French knights had jousted in the plains of Boeotia and Attica and feasted in great castles on the Cadmea and the Acropolis for more than a hundred years (1204-1311). All this had now come to an end. Thebes, the capital of the Athenian duchy, was immediately occupied; many of the Latin inhabitants of the duchy sought refuge on the Venetian island of Euboea (Negroponte).⁴ The great castle of St. Omer (on the Cadmea), then famous for its frescoes, was taken over by the Company, and other towns and strongholds in Boeotia quickly followed. The Greek natives of the fortress town of Livadia admitted the Catalans with a "spontaneity" that bespoke no love for the French, and for this assistance some of them received the rights and privileges of "Franks" (Catalans),⁵ except that, as schismatics, they were commonly denied the right to marry Frankish women. Athens was surrendered to the Catalans by the now widowed duchess of Athens, Joan of Châtillon, daughter of the constable of France. Of the Burgundian duchy of Athens and its dependencies the family of Brienne now possessed only Argos and Nauplia in the Morea, which their advocate Walter of Foucherolles held for them. Attica, like Boeotia, was now a Catalan possession, and land and vineyards and olive groves which had once been the property of Pericles and Herodes Atticus were owned by Catalan soldiers of fortune.

3. *Crònica*, ch. CCXL (ed. Lanz, p. 430; ed. E. B., VI, 107).

4. *Dipl.*, doc. CLXXVI, pp. 227-228, dated June 27, 1340, and referring to the fall of Thebes in 1311.

5. A half century later a letter patent of Frederick III of Sicily, then Catalan duke of Athens, recalled the events at Livadia in 1311 (*Dipl.*, doc. CCLXVIII, pp. 352-353, where the letter is misdated 1366; Loenertz, "Athenes et Néopatras," *Arch. FF. Praed.*, XXV [1955], 117, no. 63, and especially pp. 194, 199-200). The document should be dated July 29, 1362.

Muntaner has informed us, with much exaggeration,⁶ that, of all the seven hundred knights who had ridden with Walter of Brienne into the battle of the Cephissus in March 1311, only two came out alive, Boniface of Verona, "lord of the third part of Negroponte, a very honorable, good man, who had always loved the Company," and Roger Deslaur, through whose efforts the Catalans had first hired out their services to Walter. The few thousand Catalans and Aragonese who took over the duchy of Athens lacked a leader of prestige and rank. They offered the perilous responsibility of governing them to Boniface of Verona, who felt obliged to reject their offer, whereupon they turned to their other important captive, Roger Deslaur. He accepted the proffered post, Muntaner relates, and received therewith the castle of Salona ("La Sola") and the widow of Thomas III of Autremencourt, whose great fief Salona had been until he lost his life on the banks of the Cephissus. Roger Deslaur seems to have proved unequal to the task of maintaining the duchy against the Catalans' Venetian enemies in Negroponte and their Frankish enemies in the Morea. The Grand Company therefore turned, with reluctance according to Marino Sanudo Torsello,⁷ to king Frederick II of Sicily, who at their behest appointed as duke of Athens his second son, the infante Manfred, who was then only five years of age. The Company's acceptance of Catalan-Sicilian rule was negotiated by Roger Deslaur early in the year 1312.

An interesting document has survived, containing the articles and conventions whereby the "Corporation of the Army of Franks in Romania," as the Company was officially known, recognized the infante Manfred as their "true, legitimate, and natural lord." By the common consent and will of the individual members of the Company, duly assembled in council for this purpose, the young infante and, on his behalf, the king were to exercise all right, dominion, power, and jurisdiction over the members of the Company and their possessions; allegiance to their new prince was an obligation undertaken by them in perpetuity, and in accordance with the laws of Aragon and the customs of Barcelona. Frederick II, on behalf of his son, undertook to exercise the dominion, right of governance, and jurisdiction thus granted in strict accord with these laws and customs. The king and his son were to maintain and defend every member of the Company in such status, office, and fief *as he then held*, although they acquired in Attica and Boeotia such feudal rights

6. *Crònica*, ch. CCXL (ed. Lanz, p. 431; ed. E. B., VI, 108).

7. *Ep. XVI*, in Jacques Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos* (2 vols. in 1, Hanover, 1611), II, 307.

and perquisites as obtained in the kingdom of Aragon. The lord king declared, for himself and for his son, the royal intention to rule in accordance with these terms.⁸ The king then sent Berenguer Estañol of Ampurias as the young duke's vicar-general, and when Estañol arrived in Piraeus with five galleys to take over his command, Roger Deslaur, who had governed the Company for a year (1311–1312), retired to his lordship of Salona and figures no more in the history of the Athenian duchy.⁹

Berenguer proved an able ruler, and under him the Catalans were able to consolidate their position in Attica and Boeotia. He protected them against the hostility of the Venetians in Negroponte, the Greeks in Thessaly and Epirus, and the Briennist retainers in Argos and Nauplia in the Morea. In 1316 Berenguer died, after prolonged illness and four years of effective service, and the Catalans elected a member of the Company, one William de Thomas, as their captain and vice-regent,¹⁰ until the arrival in Athens of king Frederick II's natural son, Don Alfonso Fadrique of Aragon, who had been appointed vicar-general for the infante duke Manfred. On November 9, 1317, Manfred died in Trapani as a result of a fall from his horse; his younger brother became duke William [II] of Athens.¹¹ Appointed, therefore, as duke Manfred's vicar-general, it was as the vicar of duke William II that Alfonso Fadrique was to hold the chief post in the duchy of Athens—and after 1319 in the duchy of Neopatras—for about fourteen years (1317–1330),¹² during which period the Catalan Company in Greece enjoyed the height of their power and their security.

The organization of the new Catalan state in Greece illustrates very well the medieval theory of a contract between the ruler and his people, expressly called a contract (*capitula et conventiones*) in the first words of the document of 1312.¹³ The Company remained

8. *Dipl.*, doc. LIII, pp. 67–69, and cf. doc. CXXXIII, p. 164, from Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Ep.* XVI, in Bongars, *loc cit.*

9. Muntaner, *Crònica*, ch. CCXLII (ed. Lanz, p. 433; ed. E. B., VI, 111).

10. Cf. *Dipl.*, doc. LXXXIV, p. 104, and Sp. P. Lampros, "Εγγράφα ἀναφερόμενα εἰς τὴν μεσαιωνικὴν Ἱστορίαν τῶν Ἀθηνῶν" (Athens, 1906; hereafter cited as *Eggrapha*, vol. III of Lampros's Greek translation of Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Athen im Mittelalter*, 2nd ed.), part IV, doc. 104, pp. 355–356.

11. Setton, *Catalan Domination*, pp. 15–17. William died August 22, 1338. Duke William I was William de la Roche (1280–1287).

12. The last clear reference to Alfonso Fadrique's tenure of the chief command in Greece comes in a Venetian document dated March 4, 1326 (*Dipl.*, doc. CXXXII, p. 163) although his authority continued for some time thereafter (cf. *Dipl.*, docs. CXXXIX, CXLII, CXLVI). His successor, Nicholas Lancia, is identified as *vicarius generalis* on April 5, 1331 (*Dipl.*, doc. CLIII, pp. 196 ff.).

13. *Dipl.*, doc. LIII, p. 67.

legal owner of the lands which they had won and now held by right of conquest, but seeking perhaps a more constitutional basis for their authority, and further protection in time of need, they had surrendered to and received back from the Catalan duke in Sicily their fiefs and offices in the Athenian duchy. The grand enfeoffment of 1312, however, whereby the duke was obliged to confirm the distribution of lands and offices which the Company had already effected among themselves, was largely theoretical, for it was they who granted the ducal domain to him rather than he who granted their fiefs to them. From the time of their early establishment in Greece the Company possessed written Articles or Statutes (*Capitula*), an actual constitution, composed in Catalan and largely based upon the Constitutions of Catalonia and the Customs of Barcelona. The text of the Statutes of the Company (*els Capítols de la Companyia*) has unfortunately not survived, although here and there a fragment appears in the documents, most notably the article prohibiting landed gifts and testamentary bequests to the church.¹⁴ To important documents the chancellor of the Company affixed the Company's own seal, which depicted St. George slaying the dragon.¹⁵

The duke appointed the vicar-general, the chief executive of the duchy, who swore fealty to the duke in Sicily, and upon his arrival in Athens or Thebes took an oath before representatives of the Company to discharge the duties of his office properly, in accordance with the Statutes of the Company. The duke quickly acquired, however, the right of appointment to the chief military post in the Catalan state, that of marshal of the duchy, or after 1319, when Don Alfonso Fadrique added the duchy of Neopatras to that of Athens, marshal of the duchies. But the highest offices in the state were

14. See *Dipl.*, doc. CCXCIV, p. 382, dated June 8, 1367; note also doc. CCCXC1, pp. 476-477; and cf. doc. CDXXXIII, p. 508. (Landed property and feudal revenues were to be reserved for *gents d'armes* who could defend the state.)

15. A copy of this seal, from the collection of Count Pierre de Viry, was published by Gustave Schlumberger, "Le Sceau de la compagnie des routiers catalans à Gallipoli, en 1305," *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* (Paris), 1925, pp. 131-137; *Anuari de l'Institut d'estudis catalans*, VII (1921-1926), 302-304; and Gustave Schlumberger, Ferdinand Chalandon, and Adrien Blanchet, eds., *Sigillographie de l'Orient latin* (Paris, 1943), pp. 208-209. Muntaner, *Crònica*, ch. CCXXV (ed. Lanz, p. 397; ed E. B., VI, 66), relates that after Roger de Flor's death the Company had made a great seal upon which was represented *lo benaurat monsènyer sant Jordi* and bearing the inscription *Segell de la host dels francs qui regnen lo regne de Macedònia* (and for Muntaner's idea of Macedonia, see, *ibid.*, ch. CCXIV, Lanz, pp. 379-380; E. B., VI, 44-45). The copy of the seal extant bears the official title of the Company, familiar to us from papal and royal documents, *Felix Francorum exercitus in Romanie partibus [not finibus] comorans*, on which see Jacoby, "La Compagnie catalane," *Journal des savants*, 1966, pp. 80-87, 93 ff., who believes that this seal must be dated after 1312.

reserved, for the most part, for the Catalans themselves, including the office of marshal, which, whether by royal appointment or not, was apparently held for almost two generations (until 1354?) by the important family of the Novelles.

Thebes was the capital of the Athenian duchy. The Catalans in Athens conducted various local affairs as a municipal corporation with their own civil and military officers and with their own syndics, aldermen, and municipal council. The city of Neopatras was the capital of the northern duchy, within the boundaries of which were located the important castle and town of Zeitounion (in Catalan *la Citó*), the ancient Lamia. A captain presided over the city of Neopatras, and a castellan commanded the garrison in the castle. Conditions in Neopatras, owing to its semi-isolation in the north, were unique, and authority resided not only ultimately but directly in the sovereign duke in Sicily or, after 1379, in Aragon-Catalonia. The duchy of Neopatras possesses far less history than that of Athens.

It is difficult to make valid generalizations concerning the administration of the municipalities or town corporations in the two duchies—Athens, Thebes, Livadia, Siderokastron, and Neopatras—but they all belonged to the royal domain. Greeks served on the municipal councils in Athens, Livadia, and Neopatras. The Assizes and Customs of Romania, which were presumably the feudal law of Burgundian Athens, gave way in 1311 to the Customs of Barcelona, which thereafter formed the basis of public and private law in the Athenian duchy as in Catalonia, and the high court of the Frankish baronage was replaced by the court of the vicar-general, which was located in Thebes. Disputed cases were adjudicated by appeal in the royal court in Sicily. After 1355, as we shall see, the duke of Athens was also, in the person of Frederick III, the king of Sicily; this increased the ducal dignity if not the ducal power. The duke commonly nominated the veguers and castellans in the chief towns and fortresses in the Athenian duchy; and on the surface the Catalan feudatories, the municipalities, and even the clergy possessed fewer rights of private jurisdiction than had their Frankish predecessors. The royal act of appointment to or removal from office, however, was often not the royal will, and again and again in the troubled history of Catalan Athens the Sicilian royal duke had no alternative but to accept the accomplished fact with which he was firmly presented by his loyal subjects across the sea.

The Catalans had made their entrance into the Latin politics of Greece as unseemly intruders, and they were at first unpopular with

almost everyone in continental Greece and the Morea—emperor Andronicus II Palaeologus and his imperial governor of Mistra (then the father of the future emperor John VI Cantacuzenus); the Greek ruler John II Ducas “Comnenus” of Thessaly and his relative, the despoina Anna of Epirus; the Frankish barons in Achaea, vassals of the absentee prince Philip I of Taranto, among them the Briennist retainers in Argos and Nauplia; the Venetian bailie in Negroponte and the Venetian feudatories in the Archipelago; as well as the pope in Avignon, the vigilant guardian of Latin legitimacy in the Levant as elsewhere. All these looked forward to the collapse of the Company of Catalan cutthroats holding sway in Boeotia and Attica. They had long to wait. The Venetians were the first to become reconciled to the Company, or at least resigned to the Catalan occupation of the Athenian duchy. Since the Catalans had long been enemies of the Genoese and, after the murder of Roger de Flor, enemies also of the Byzantine emperor, the Venetians had looked upon Catalan activities in the Levant with no particular concern from 1303 to 1309–1310, but when the Catalans finally settled in southern Thessaly and the Athenian duchy, acquired allies among the Turks, and displayed a marked penchant for piracy, the Venetians in nearby Negroponte had reason for apprehension. This change in the republic’s attitude toward the Catalan Company was first markedly demonstrated in a treaty negotiated at Constantinople on November 11, 1310, between emperor Andronicus II and envoys of Peter Gradenigo, the doge of Venice, a treaty that was to last for twelve years. The Venetians undertook, among other articles of agreement, not to go into Byzantine territories held by the Company, still in Thessaly in the employ of duke Walter of Brienne, although trading rights between the empire and the republic were to be reestablished in the territories in question after the withdrawal therefrom of the Catalans.¹⁶

Although in April 1315, in connection with the Moreote expedition of the infante Ferdinand of Majorca, king Frederick II of Sicily had occasion to ask the doge, John Soranzo, for friendship and devotion from Venice,¹⁷ the Venetians in Euboea found Frederick’s subjects in Thebes and Athens rather deficient of friendship and devotion toward them. Soranzo must have been interested to learn from Mahaut of Hainault, widow of Louis of Burgundy, who had protected her claim to the principality of Achaea by his victory over Ferdinand of Majorca at Manolada in Elis (on July 5, 1316), that

16. *Dipl.*, doc. XLVI, pp. 56–58 (also in Thomas, *Diplomatarium veneto-levantinum*, I, no. 46, pp. 82 ff.).

17. *Dipl.*, doc. LXXV, pp. 92–93.

even as she wrote (in March 1317), some two thousand Catalans from the Athenian duchy were in the city of Negroponte: "We make known to your highness that, owing to the dissension which has existed between Messer Andrew Cornaro [Venetian lord of Carpathos and of a "sixth" of Euboea] and Boniface of Verona [who held Carystus and a "third" of the island] and the understanding reached between your bailie of Negroponte [Michael Morosini, 1316–1317] and Messer Andrew Cornaro, the said Messer Andrew has made peace and an accord with the Catalan Company in the duchy of Athens, and has introduced into the city of Negroponte all told more than 2,000 of the Company on horse and foot . . ." The island and city were thus in danger of falling to the Catalans, which would be a grievous loss to Venice and a peril to Mahaut. She urged the doge to see to the removal of the Catalan force from the island, and to instruct the bailie to make neither peace nor an agreement with the intruders. She also requested the doge to direct Andrew Cornaro to break off his entente with the Company, which he already regretted. Speed was necessary to deal with this emergency, "and you know well, my lord, that those people in the Company will maintain neither faith nor honesty with you nor with us nor with anyone in the whole world."¹⁸

A year later, on March 17, 1318, John of Gravina, prince of Achaea through his "marriage" to the unhappy Mahaut of Hainault, wrote to Soranzo complaining of Don Alfonso Fadrique's offenses against both the Angevins and the Venetians in Negroponte.¹⁹ On the following day both king Robert of Naples and prince Philip of Taranto, brothers of John of Gravina, sent similar letters to the doge,²⁰ who replied on April 13 expressing his gratitude for this interest in Venetian affairs; but even before having received the royal letters, the republic had had news from Greece concerning Don Alfonso Fadrique's activities. An envoy had already been sent to king Frederick II of Sicily, Don Alfonso's father, and the republic hoped that the king would himself put a peaceful and tranquil end to their

18. *Dipl.*, doc. LXXXVI, pp. 105–106; Louis de Mas Latrie, *Mélanges historiques*, III (Paris, 1880), no. IV, pp. 32–34 (Documents inédits sur l'histoire de France); Loenertz, *Arch. FF. Praed.*, XXV, no. 5, p. 104; Karl Hopf, "Geschichte Griechenlands . . .," in Ersch and Gruber, *Allgemeine Encyclopädie*, LXXXV (1867), 413a (repr. New York, 1960, I, 347a), rather fanciful. Mahaut calls the Catalans "la Compagne des Castellains [Castilians!] qui sunt en ducaume de Staines [Athens]"; her letter was dated at Andravida March 28 (of 1317). Boniface of Verona died before May 8, 1318 (*Dipl.*, doc. XCIV, pp. 113–114), presumably in the late fall of 1317.

19. *Dipl.*, doc. LXXXIX, pp. 108–109.

20. *Dipl.*, docs. XC, XCI, pp. 109–110. King Robert wrote again on June 24 (*ibid.*, doc. XCVII, pp. 116–117).

problems. If it should prove otherwise, the letter ends serenely, the republic intended to do what might be pleasing to God and the honor of the state and in the interests of Robert and his brothers.²¹ The signoria of Venice was much concerned with the affairs of the Catalan Company throughout the spring of 1318. In April representatives of the constable Gaucher of Châtillon and his daughter, the dowager duchess of Athens, presented a petition to the doge; they sought a large loan and ships enough to transport four or five hundred knights and a thousand or more infantry to Negroponte or to Nauplia. The doge replied that the Briennist feudatories in Argos and Nauplia were now allied with the Catalan Company, and since their own vassals were not loyal, their proposal would only entail a vain expenditure of men and money.²²

On May 8 pope John XXII wrote the doge and republic of Venice, urging the expulsion of the Catalans from the island of Euboea, where Don Alfonso held the fortress towns of Carystus and Larmena as his wife's dowry. The pope claimed that Don Alfonso aimed at the occupation of the entire island and, which was quite true, that he had Turks in his employ; the Venetians should expel the Catalans not only from Euboea, but from the duchy of Athens also, in which business, the pope indicates, his beloved son king Robert of Naples had some interest.²³ On June 18, 1318, Don Alfonso himself wrote a letter from Athens to Francis Dandolo, the captain and bailie of Negroponte, expressing his astonishment that Catalans from the

21. *Dipl.*, doc. XCII, p. 111. The principality of Achaea was much threatened by the Greeks of Mistra, who in 1320 occupied the Arcadian castles of Akova or Matagrifon, near the modern Dimitsana, and Karytaina, which overlooks the valley of the Alpheus. They also seized the fortress of St. George between Mistra and Karytaina (cf. A. Morel-Fatio, ed., *Libro de los fechos* [Geneva, 1885], pars. 641–654, pp. 140–143; Jean Longnon, ed., *Chronique de Morée* [Paris, 1911], pp. 404–405, chron. table; and R. J. Loenertz, “La Chronique brève moréote de 1423,” in *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, II-1, 403, 413–414). King Robert of Naples, who was then living in Avignon, was much concerned with the recovery of lands lost to the Greeks and with the protection of those being attacked by the Catalans and Turks. G. M. Monti, *Nuovi studi angioini* (Trani, 1937), pp. 612–629, has published eight relevant documents dated from July 18 to November 10, 1321. The Greeks had taken Matagrifon, Karytaina, and St. George, but on July 18 (1321), king Robert seemed to think that Don Alfonso Fadrique “with that dismal Company” had seized these three places (Monti, *op. cit.*, p. 626). On October 1, 1322, pope John XXII wrote the Latin patriarch Nicholas and archbishop William Frangipani of Patras, excoriating “Alfonso the captain and the other leaders . . . of the Grand Company, . . . walking damnably in the darkness and shadow of death,” who had been attacking the principality of Achaea: the patriarch and the archbishop were to make the Grand Company call a halt to their criminal activity by the application of ecclesiastical censure (*Dipl.*, doc. CXX, pp. 148–149, misdated by Rubió i Lluch). So far, it must be admitted, this had proved a rather ineffectual weapon.

22. *Dipl.*, doc. XCIII, pp. 112–113.

23. *Dipl.*, doc. XCIV, pp. 113–114. On Don Alfonso's marriage, see below, p. 185.

Athenian duchy had been guilty of depredations against the Venetians, "with whom we have a truce and are at peace." He promised an investigation and the punishment of the offenders; he desired peace with the Venetians, of whom, however, he was clearly suspicious.²⁴

An interesting report of June 26, 1318, sent to the doge of Venice by Dandolo, concludes with the news, "On June 21 at about the hour of vespers we learned from a trustworthy source that a ship of 48 oars has been armed at Athens. It is to carry two ambassadors of Don Alfonso, [chosen] from among his better people, to the [Greek] emperor, and it is to leave Athens tonight. We have also learned from the same reliable informant that another ship is being armed at Athens, which is to take [another] two ambassadors of Don Alfonso . . . with two Turkish ambassadors into Turkey. They are going to enlist a goodly number of Turks, from 1,000 to 1,500"²⁵

Diplomatic representations were made to Don Alfonso Fadrique and to his father Frederick II of the harm which Catalan corsairs and their Turkish allies were doing to Venetian commerce and of the ultimate consequences of Venetian hostility to the Catalan Company. On September 2, 1318, king Frederick II of Sicily answered the several grievances detailed by the Venetian envoy of whom the doge had written the Angevin princes; Frederick had probably warned his son to be careful some time before this, but the Sicilian archives are very fragmentary for this period. The king refused to recognize as infractions of the peace or as unjust the acts charged in most of the complaints made against his son Alfonso, and his replies to the Venetian envoys are full of Catalan enmity toward the Angevin lords of Achaea.²⁶ But with the Venetians the king of Sicily desired amicable relations and the settlement of differences existing between them, and he appointed envoys to treat with the doge and republic of Venice "to achieve a final peace and concord or a long truce between the republic of Venice, her citizens and subjects, and Alfonso and the Catalan Company."²⁷

24. *Dipl.*, doc. XCV, pp. 114-115. Catalan piracy was unceasing, however, among the islands of the Archipelago (cf. *Dipl.*, docs. XCVI, C-CII); see W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, trans. Furcy Raynaud, I (repr. 1967), 538.

25. *Dipl.*, doc. XCVIII, p. 119. Catalan sloops (*vachetae*) had been on a raid to Euboea, and a fleet (*armata*) had just attacked Cassandrea on the Thermaic Gulf.

26. *Dipl.*, doc. CIII, pp. 124-127; Thomas, *Diplomatarium veneto-levantinum*, I, no. 64, pp. 110-113; cf. Setton, *Catalan Domination*, p. 34.

27. *Dipl.*, doc. CIV, pp. 127-128; Thomas, *Diplomatarium veneto-levantinum*, I, no. 65, pp. 113-114. The Venetian conditions of peace presented to the Sicilian envoys in the early winter of 1318 and the doge's statement of terms for the envoys to take to Frederick II are

Such a peace was finally established, after detailed negotiations, on June 9, 1319, when a six months' agreement was reached, at a conference in Negroponte, between Don Alfonso and the whole Company on the one hand and on the other the bailie Francis Dandolo, his councillors, and the feudal lords of Euboea, John de Noyer of Maisy, Peter dalle Carceri, Andrew Cornaro, and Bartholomew II Ghisi. The Catalans bound themselves to disarm their trading vessels and to arm no others in the Saronic Gulf or elsewhere in places bordering upon the island of Euboea; vessels with oars they agreed to draw up on land, a plank was to be removed from the bottom of each hull, "and the tackle of the vessels themselves should be stored on the Acropolis." Such unarmed merchantmen as were then sailing from the port of Livadostro ("Rivadostia") might be maintained, for Livadostro was in the northeast corner of the Corinthian Gulf, whence the Catalans could neither harry the islands of the Archipelago nor combine in raiding sorties with their friends and allies the Turks.²⁸ This treaty, if strictly adhered to, must have been most detrimental to trade with Sicily, Majorca, and Barcelona. The Venetians, however, always insisted on its terms. The treaty was renewed on May 11, 1321.²⁹ It was renewed again at a meeting held in Thebes on April 5, 1331.³⁰ In all three treaties the Company held itself liable to a fine of 5,000 hyperpers for the violation of its pledges, while to the treaties of 1321 and 1331 a half dozen clauses or more were added to the specific effect that the Catalans should conclude no new alliances with the Turks and should not aid them in attacks upon the island of Euboea or the Venetian possessions in the Archipelago.³¹ These agreements were renewed from time to time in the years that followed. With each decade that passed the Catalans became rather more reliable, and although relations between the Catalans in the Athenian duchy and the Venetians in Negroponte sometimes degenerated into actual warfare, at the termination of each such period of armed conflict the Venetians always insisted upon the Catalans' never maintaining armed vessels in the harbor of Piraeus.³²

printed in *Dipl.*, docs. CVI, CVII, pp. 129–131, and in Thomas, *op. cit.*, I, nos. 66, 67, pp. 115–117. The doge insisted that the Catalans could not maintain vessels equipped with oars (*ligna a remis*) in the Athenian duchy (Rubió, *Dipl.*, p. 130).

28. The text of the treaty of June 9, 1319, has often been printed, most recently in Rubió's *Diplomatari*, doc. CIX, pp. 132–134.

29. *Dipl.*, doc. CXVI, pp. 141–144.

30. *Dipl.*, doc. CLIII, pp. 196–200.

31. *Dipl.*, docs. CXVI, p. 142, and CLIII, p. 198.

32. As in the interesting and instructive treaty of July 25, 1365 (*Dipl.*, doc. CCLVIII, pp.

Pope Clement V and his successors in Avignon looked with anxiety upon the machinations of Catalan kings in Barcelona and Palermo. The Briennes were a French family of distinguished ancestry, loyal Guelfs, and vassals of the Angevin princes of Achaea. Inevitably the popes sought to aid young Walter II [VI] of Brienne, son of the slain duke of Athens, to recover the rich heritage the Catalans had wrested from him in the marshes of the Cephissus. Nevertheless, if in the confused pattern of interests and events in the Levant, some place could be found to employ the Company to the advantage of the church, the curia would not be loath to do so. When the crusade was discussed at the Council of Vienne, the papal vice-chancellor proposed to the representatives of king James II of Aragon that the Catalan Company, now securely established in Thebes and Athens, should be employed in a crusading expedition to pass through Greece, subject the schismatic church to the Catholic faith, and proceed by way of Christian (Cilician) Armenia against the Moslem in the Holy Land. On November 22, 1311, his majesty was reminded of the strategic location, for the purposes of the crusade, of the Company, composed of Catalans and Aragonese, now in Greece, already the conquerors of many lands.³³ But the Catalans and Aragonese had had too long an acquaintance with papal politics, too much experience of Turkish power, too many Turkish friends, and too good a stroke of fortune in acquiring the duchy of Athens to embark on an expedition to Palestine. The problem of the Catalans in Greece had, therefore, to be met otherwise, for their activities were proving most injurious to the Angevins and to Latin ecclesiastics both in continental Greece and in the Morea.

On May 2, 1312, pope Clement V wrote from Vienne to "his beloved sons, the Catalan Company in Romania," that Philip I of Taranto, prince of Achaea, had lodged a complaint at the curia in Avignon to the effect that the Company had entered into "certain conventions and pacts" with enemies of the Catholic faith against the prince and his Moreote vassals. His holiness ordered the immediate abandonment of these conventions and pacts, warning the Company that excommunication would be the price of their refusal. He notified the Company also that he was writing to Fulk of Villaret, master

341–342; Sp. M. Theotokes, in 'Επετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν, VIII [1931], 200–205). Cf. Setton, *Catalan Domination*, pp. 60–61.

33. *Dipl.*, doc. LI, pp. 65–66. For some Catalan crusading ideas, especially those of Raymond Lull, see A. S. Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1938), pp. 74 ff.; A. Gotttron, *Ramón Lull's Kreuzzugsideen* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1912); and E. Allison Peers, *Ramon Lull, a Biography* (London, 1929), *passim*.

of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, to help expel them from "Romania" if they failed to obey the apostolic admonition.³⁴ On the same day he wrote to Fulk to the same effect.³⁵ The Catalans, of course, did not desist. Fulk, however, made no effort to drive them from the Athenian duchy; he was too much occupied with the affairs of the Hospitallers on the newly acquired island of Rhodes.³⁶

Conditions in Latin Greece were nearly intolerable, and complaints were continually coming to the curia. Catalan depredation had reduced the revenues of the archbishopric of Corinth;³⁷ the new archbishop of Thebes dared not take up residence in his see;³⁸ and the aged bishop of Negroponte could not return to Euboea from the Council of Vienne because of the general insecurity which the Catalan Company had caused.³⁹

The pope could not but feel that the cause of Latin Christendom in Greece had been severely hurt by the advent of the Catalans, for duke Walter I [V] had been a loyal son of the church, an assiduous defender of the faith.⁴⁰ On January 14, 1314, therefore, pope Clement V had reason for his indignant letter to Nicholas, the Latin patriarch, excoriating the Catalan Company for their attacks upon churches, ecclesiastics, and their fellow Christians, and for the death of Walter, "who had been laboring in defense of the faithful . . . against the Greek schismatics."⁴¹ On the same day the pope wrote the patriarch that he should effect the transfer of such properties as the Knights Templar had possessed in the duchy of Athens to Gaucher of Châtillon, constable of France and grandfather of the titular duke Walter II, in order that such properties might be used to defend the faithful against schismatics "and certain other characters in a certain Company."⁴² Another letter bearing the same date was dispatched to king James II of Aragon—"since the greater part of the

34. *Dipl.*, doc. LV1, pp. 71–72; *Regestum Clementis Papae V* (Rome, 1885–1888), annus septimus, no. 7890, pp. 72–73.

35. *Dipl.*, doc. LV11, p. 72; *Regestum Clementis V*, loc. cit., no. 7891, p. 73.

36. See below, pp. 283–286.

37. *Dipl.*, doc. LV111, p. 73; *Regestum Clementis V*, annus septimus, no. 8597, p. 238, dated June 23, 1312.

38. *Dipl.*, doc. LIX, pp. 73–74; *Regestum Clementis V*, annus septimus, no. 8138, p. 125, dated July 13, 1312.

39. *Dipl.*, doc. LXII, pp. 77–78; *Regestum Clementis V*, annus octavus, no. 9153, pp. 131–132, dated 23 March, 1313.

40. Lampros, *Eggrapha*, part I, doc. 31, p. 52, dated November 11, 1309.

41. *Dipl.*, doc. LXIV, pp. 80–81; *Regestum Clementis V*, annus nonus, no. 10167, p. 45; O. Raynaldus, *Annales ecclesiastici*, ad ann. 1314, no. 9 (vol. V [1750], p. 22); Lampros, *Eggrapha*, part I, doc. 32, p. 53; and cf. *Dipl.*, doc. LXVI, p. 83, *et alibi*.

42. *Dipl.*, doc. LXIII, pp. 78–79; *Regestum Clementis V*, annus nonus, no. 10166, pp. 44–45, and cf. the letter of January 14 to Fulk of Villaret (*Dipl.*, doc. LXV, pp. 81–82; *Regestum*, *ibid.*, no. 10168, pp. 46–47).

Company is said to have been recruited from your kingdom"—asking his majesty to warn and to exhort the Catalans to give up the castles and the lands they had occupied.⁴³ According to a seventeenth-century annalist of the kings of Aragon, king James II replied that his holiness would do well to look upon the Catalans and Aragonese in Greece as "the right arm and faithful instrument" of the holy see, which might be employed against the schismatic Greeks.⁴⁴ Be that as it may, James II wrote twice directly to the Catalan Company, expressing a desire to recall them "to the path of righteousness," and ordering "that you desist completely from the invasion and occupation of the duchy of Athens, and withdrawing therefrom completely, that you leave it peacefully and quietly to its rightful heirs."⁴⁵ These letters, however, were apparently nothing more than a diplomatic gesture.

Very likely the Company in Thebes and Athens took the admonitions of king James II no more seriously than he had intended, but their isolation was most serious, despite their connection with the royal house of Sicily and the able leadership of their vicar-general, Berenguer Estañol (1312-1316). On March 26, 1314, with a gesture worthy of them, they formally bestowed upon Guy de la Tour, baron of Montauban, third son of the dauphin Humbert I of Viennois (d. 1307), the erstwhile Latin kingdom of Thessalonica. Their sole claim to the kingdom, which a century before had existed briefly (1204-1224), was that their former leader Bernard (Bernat) of Rocafort had once aspired to possess it. But now they pledged their every assistance to enable Guy to acquire Thessalonica,⁴⁶ for with pleasant memories of the Thermaic Gulf and the rich plains of Thessaly, the Catalans would have been happy to extend their sway northward. If Guy could help them to do so, he was obviously an ally worth having. But nothing came of all this, for a month before (on February 22) king Robert of Naples had made Guy de la Tour his captain-general in

43. *Dipl.*, doc. LXVI, pp. 82-83; Finke, *Acta aragonensia*, II, 749-751.

44. Pedro Abarca, *Los Anales históricos de los reyes de Aragón*, II (Salamanca, 1684), cap. 6, nos. 7-9, pp. 61^v-62^v, quoted in Setton, *Catalan Domination*, p. 26. Rubió i Lluch searched in vain for the text of king James's alleged reply in the Archives of the Crown of Aragon in Barcelona (*Dipl.*, p. 84, note), but it would seem to have been rather in accord, as James might have reminded the pope, with the papal vice-chancellor's own observation of the possible usefulness of the Company against the non-Catholics in the east (*Dipl.*, doc. LII, p. 66).

45. *Dipl.*, doc. LXVII, p. 84, dated February 28, 1314, and doc. LXXII, p. 90, dated March 27, 1314; cf. doc. LXXIII, p. 91. James II also wrote Philip the Fair of France of his "vehement displeasure" at the Catalan conquest and of his orders to the Catalans to abandon the duchy of Athens to its rightful heirs (*Dipl.*, doc. LXVIII, pp. 84-85).

46. *Dipl.*, doc. LXX, pp. 88-89, dated at Thebes on March 26, 1314; see also Schlumberger, Chalandon, and Blanchet, *Sigillographie de l'Orient latin*, pp. 210-211.

Lombardy, and king Robert was one of the Catalans' most determined enemies.⁴⁷

Papal opposition to the Catalan Company continued with undiminished vigor, and on September 4, 1318, when the negotiations between the Catalan king of Sicily and the Venetians were far advanced, cardinal-bishop Nicholas of Ostia and Velletri wrote to the doge and council of Venice of the disquieting news that the curia was receiving from Greece about the Catalans.⁴⁸ On August 2, 1319, about the time the news of the Catalan-Venetian peace of June became known in Avignon, pope John XXII wrote to Walter of Foucherolles (1311–1324), Briennist advocate in Argos and Nauplia, and to the people and clergy of the Argolid diocese, urging continued loyalty to young Walter II and his mother the dowager duchess of Athens.⁴⁹ According to Karl Hopf, however, who cites a Venetian document of December 6, 1317, Don Alfonso Fadrique had already withdrawn from Negroponte and the island of Euboea, retaining only the disputed castles of Carystus and Larmena.⁵⁰ Catalan and Turkish piracy could not be checked,⁵¹ but hostilities with the Venetians on a serious scale seem not to have been renewed after Don Alfonso's withdrawal from Negroponte, and, as we have seen, he claimed in June 1318 to be observing the "truce and peace" which the Company already had with the Venetians.

The years that followed 1318–1319 were the most secure and successful years the Catalan Company was to enjoy in Greece. Don Alfonso Fadrique was probably the most distinguished Catalan ever to take up residence in the Athenian duchy, and during the years that he was vicar-general the Catalans added the only conspicuous gains made to their Greek territories after the triumph of the original conquest itself. When he passed from the scene, their career as Conquistadors, as they called themselves, had come to an end. Don Alfonso is referred to in all documents—Catalan, Venetian, and even Angevin and papal—with the respect befitting the rank of a king's son. He is called in the Catalan-Venetian peace of 1319 "the magnifi-

47. Gregorovius (tr. Lampros), *Athens* [in Greek], II (Athens, 1904), 95–97. Guy de la Tour died in 1317; he did not go to Greece.

48. *Dipl.*, doc. CV, p. 128.

49. *Dipl.*, doc. CX, pp. 134–135, G. Mollat and G. de Lesquen, eds., *Jean XXII: Lettres communes*, II (Paris, 1905), no 9879, p. 421.

50. Hopf, in Ersch and Gruber, LXXXV, 413 (repr., I, 347), which is probably accurate, but seems to indicate that negotiations were rather more advanced than might be assumed from the documents of September 2, 1318 (cf. *ibid.*, p. 415 [repr., I, 349]), and Rubió's *Dipl.*, docs. CIII, CIV, pp. 124–128).

51. Cf. *Dipl.*, docs. C, CI, pp. 121–123, dated July 16 and 26, 1318.

cent lord, Don Alfonso, son of the most excellent lord, Don Frederick, by the grace of God king of Sicily, and commander of the fortunate army of the Franks [Catalans] in the duchy of Athens and other parts of the empire of Romania."⁵² At first Don Alfonso appears to have resided in Athens, presumably in the Burgundian castle on the Acropolis.⁵³ He was soon accepted as a friend and ally by the great Lombard magnate, Boniface of Verona, triarch of Euboea, who gave him his daughter Marulla (Maria) in marriage in 1317:

And they [the Catalans] were very content and soon procured a wife for him [Fadrique], and gave him to wife the daughter of micer Bonifazio of Verona, to whom had been left all micer Bonifazio possessed, namely the third part of the city and of the town and of the island of Negroponte, and full thirteen castles on the mainland of the duchy of Athens [which Boniface had received as fiefs from the Burgundian duke Guy II de la Roche].⁵⁴ And so he had to wife this damsel who was the daughter of that nobleman who was, I believe, the wisest and most courteous noble ever born . . . And by this lady En [Catalan for Don] Alfonso Federico had plenty of children and she was the best lady and the wisest there ever was in that country. And, assuredly, she is one of the most beautiful Christians of the world; I saw her in the house of her father when she was about eight years old . . .⁵⁵

In the late fall of 1317 (or possibly early in 1318) Boniface of Verona died, and Don Alfonso prepared to press his wife's claims by force of arms. Dispute centered especially upon the claims now put forward to, and the Catalan occupation of, the castles of Carystus and Larmena on the island of Euboea. Thomas (or Tommasaccio) of Verona, who seems, for whatever reason, to have been virtually disinherited by his father, claimed the castles of Larmena and Carystus. According to the statement of king Frederick II of Sicily, Boniface of Verona had held these castles as fiefs from John de Noyer of Maisy, and the latter had recognized Marulla's right to them and formally invested her with them, deciding against the claims of Thomas, while the latter is expressly declared to have accepted this

52. *Dipl.*, doc. CIX, p. 132; Thomas, *Diplomatarium veneto-levantinum*, I, no. 70, p. 120. Cf. Rubió, *Dipl.*, docs. LXXXIX-XCII: "nobilis Alfonsus, natus domini Frederici de Aragonia"; and cf. John XXII's letter of May 8, 1318: "nobilis vir Alfonsus, filius naturalis carissimi in Christo filii nostri Friderici Trinacrie regis illustris" (*Dipl.*, doc. XCIV, p. 113), and similar references in other documents.

53. Cf. *Dipl.*, doc. XCVIII, p. 117, dated June 26, 1318: "... dominus Alfonsus, qui est Athenis . . ."

54. Cf. K. Hopf, *Storia di Karystos*, trans. G. B. Sardagna (Venice, 1856), pp. 32-34; Hopf, in Ersch and Gruber, LXXXV, 412 (repr., I, 346).

55. Muntaner, *Crònica*, ch. CCXLIII (ed. Lanz, pp. 434-435; ed. E. B., VI, 112; trans. Hakluyt Society, II, 582); this is Muntaner's last reference to the Catalans in the Athenian duchy. Cf. Rubió i Lluch, *Paquimeres i Muntaner* (Barcelona, 1927), pp. 22.

judgment.⁵⁶ Pope John XXII, however, protested that Thomas of Verona had been despoiled of his inheritance,⁵⁷ while the Venetians, who looked with fear upon the Catalan possession of Carystus and Larmena, demanded their surrender to the republic, promising somewhat ambiguously to do full right and justice to the claims of Marulla.⁵⁸ Don Alfonso kept the castles. In the years that followed, however, Thomas of Verona made peace with his brother-in-law and sister, because upon his death in February 1326 we find him possessed of Larmena and other lands and fiefs on the island of Euboea. When his sister and, conceivably, Don Alfonso sought to enter the city of Negroponte on March 1 to do homage to the triarchs Peter dalle Carceri, Beatrice de Noyer of Maisy, and Bartholomew II Ghisi for these lands and fiefs, all three refused the lady, who had come with a large armed escort, admittance to the city. The island was, they said, under the protection of Venice, and since they feared the consequences of Catalan possession of such strongholds on Euboea, the signoria would have to declare the policy to be followed.⁵⁹ But the Venetians were not minded to make concessions to the unreliable family of the Fadriques, because although major hostilities were avoided, it was well known in Venice that Catalan-Turkish piracy was an almost undiminished menace.⁶⁰ As for the castle town of Carystus, Venice would be unable to secure it from the Fadrique family until 1365–1366.

Don Alfonso Fadrique was restless and aggressive. When the young ruler of Thessaly, John II Ducas Comnenus, died childless in 1318,⁶¹ Don Alfonso invaded his lands; his attacks were rapid and destructive, but some of his conquests were to endure for more than seventy

56. *Dipl.*, doc. CIII, p. 126; Thomas, *Diplomatarium veneto-levantinum*, I, no. 64, pp. 112–113.

57. *Dipl.*, doc. XCIV, pp. 113–114.

58. *Dipl.*, doc. CVI, p. 129; Thomas, I, no. 66, p. 115.

59. *Dipl.*, docs. CXXX–CXXXII, pp. 161–164, dated March 3–4, 1326; cf. Hopf, in Ersch and Gruber, LXXXV, 413, 415, 416, 425 (repr., I, 347, 349, 350, 359). Beatrice of Verona, mother of Peter dalle Carceri, had remarried John de Noyer.

60. Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Ep.* XVI (written in 1326), in Bongars, *Gesta Dei*, II, 307; cf. *Ep.* XVII (1327), in Bongars, II, 309. Note also *Ep.* V (1326), in Bongars, II, 298, in which Sanudo also dilates on the danger presented to the Greek islands by the Turks and Catalans, against whom Venetian Euboea needed especial protection. Sanudo alludes to the Turkish problem a number of times, and incidentally laments the Hospitallers' traffic with Christian pirates on the island of Rhodes (*Ep.* XXI, in Bongars, II, 314, dated February 15, 1329).

61. In May 1317 John II of Thessaly was calling himself lord of Athens as well as of his ancestral domain of Neopatra (Regesti dei commemoriali, lib. II, no. 41 [ed. Predelli, I, 177]). In 1318 the Greek ruling family of the "Comneni" died out in both Thessaly and Epirus with the deaths of John II and his cousin Thomas of Epirus (Nicephorus Gregoras, *Historia byzantina*, VII, 13, 3 [CSHB, I, 278–279], and VIII, 1 [I, 283]).

years. He seized John II's capital city of Neopatras, the castle of Siderokastron (near the ancient Heraclea), and Loidoriki, Domokos, and Pharsala; he was also able to occupy the castle of Zeitounion and the town of Gardiki in Thessaly. We are fortunate to have an account of the Catalan conquests just after 1318 from the pen of the famous crusading publicist Marino Sanudo Torsello, who in 1325 wrote archbishop Inghiramo Stella of Capua, chancellor of the king of Naples, about Don Alfonso's gains to the north of the Athenian duchy.⁶² He took the title "vicar-general of the duchies of Athens and Neopatras," and in later generations, apparently until the establishment of the Bourbon monarchy in Spain, the title duke of Athens and Neopatras commonly remained a part of the nomenclature of the crown of Aragon.⁶³ One unexpected result of Don Alfonso's Thessalian campaign of 1318–1319 was that the inhabitants of the city of Pteleum, at the entrance to the Gulf of Volos, offered their city to the Venetians, and emperor Andronicus II, since he could not protect Pteleum, assented to this acquisition by Venice of a valuable commercial station across the narrow strait from the island of

62. Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Ep.* III (1325), in Bongars, *Gesta Dei*, II, 293, and *Dipl.*, doc. CXXIX, pp. 159–161: "... Nova quae habeo de Romania per hominem fide dignum et sciolum qui venit de Nigroponte sunt ista: Dicit quod Athenarum ducatus quam plurimum est ditatus, et quod Catellani, qui dominantur ibidem, acquisiverunt, et tenent in *Blachia* [Thessaly], *Lapater* [i.e., La Patria, Neopatras] et castra *Lodorichi* [Loidoriki] et *Sidero-Castri* [near Heraclea], *Gitonis* [cf. the Catalan *Citó*, i.e., Zeitounion, Lamia], *Gardichie* [Gardiki], *Donchie* [Domokos], et *Ferselle* [Pharsalus]... Est etiam quidam Graecus... qui vocatur *Missilino*, qui tenet castrum *del Castri* [of which there were several in continental Greece] et de *Liconia* [Cat. Lechonia, near Mt. Pelion]: et videtur quod iste contraxerit parentelam cum Catellanis, eo quod tradidit sororem suam in uxorem marescalco Catellanorum [Odo de Novelles]: et videtur quod fecerit ei fidelitatem, non tamen quod in eius manibus se sic ponat. Veneti habent unum castrum iuxta mare in Blachia, nomine *Fetenli* [Pteleum], quod de bona voluntate et sua licentia reliquit eis imperator Graecorum, qui obtinuissent cum aliter Catellani..."

Missilino, the Greek archon of Castri and Liconia, may have been the uncle or great-uncle of Missili de Novelles, who in 1380–1381 was "senyor del castell den Estanyol" (*Dipl.*, doc. CDLXXXIX, p. 548), but who En Estanyol (if the text is accurate), i.e., Don Estañol, was and where his castle stood, no one knows (Loenertz, *Arch. FF. Praed.*, XXV, 186–187). Hopf, in Ersch and Gruber, LXXXV, 315, 422 (repr., I, 249, 356), and *Chroniques gréco-romanes*, p. 536, table 3, believed the name Missilino was a garbling of Melissenus, whence he drew conclusions challenged by Loenertz, *op. cit.*, pp. 184–185.

In his letter to the archbishop of Capua, Sanudo dwelt at some length on the current Albanian invasion of Thessaly, which he thought might prove a useful distraction to the Catalans, who however learned to live with the Albanians; among the eighteen Catalan feudatories given in the list of 1380–1381 is one count Dimitri, written "de Mitre" by the scribe. An Albanian chieftain, this Dimitri had 1,500 horse under his command and flew the royal banner as a born vassal of Aragon-Catalonia (*Dipl.*, doc. CDLXXXIX, p. 548, and doc. CDLXI, p. 528, addressed to "lo comte Mitra," and see Loenertz, *op. cit.*, nos. 164, 191, pp. 142, 148).

63. Setton, *Catalan Domination*, p. 31, note 37.

Euboea.⁶⁴ Don Alfonso had no alternative to reluctant acquiescence. After the conquests of the Serbs and Albanians, led especially by the Serbian tsar Stephan Dushan, who in 1348 annexed Thessaly as well as Epirus to his domains, the Catalans had no chance of recovering the fortress towns of Pharsala, Domokos, Gardiki, and Liconia, which they had somehow lost.⁶⁵

Ten or a dozen years after his conquest of Neopatras we find Don Alfonso seeking personal enfeoffment of the town and castle, a crown property. On April 15, 1328 (or 1329 or 1330), he sent a petition from Thebes, the only original Catalan document we possess from the Catalan chancery in Greece, to his cousin king Alfonso IV of Aragon, asking the latter to intercede with his father king Frederick II of Sicily to grant him the castle of Neopatras. He informed king Alfonso "that the aforesaid lord king, my father, has by his favor provided me with six castles which he has kindly given me: in the midst of the said six castles there is one castle called Neopatras, which is the center of the area and the capital of the duchy of Vlachia." He acknowledged that he had many times asked his father for Neopatras, always unsuccessfully, but he hoped that he might still attain his objective by Aragonese mediation.⁶⁶ He failed again. Frederick II doubtless believed that he had already alienated quite enough of the royal domain. It is difficult to identify the "six castles" which Don Alfonso stated his father had given him. Until the Serbian conquest of Thessaly, Neopatras was "in the midst" of all Catalan strongholds north and west of Thebes. In any event Don Alfonso had become lord of Salona under circumstances we do not know, but possibly the fief had escheated to the Company upon the deaths, without heirs, of Roger Deslaur and his wife, the widow of Thomas III of Autremencourt. Don Alfonso probably possessed, in the north, the castles of Pharsala and Domokos, as well as Gardiki and Zeitounion east of Neopatras, and in the south he certainly held those of Loidoriki and Veteranitsa. Like Neopatras, Siderokastron was a crown property. The decade of the 1320's was the period of Don Alfonso's enjoyment of power and success. He was vicar-general

64. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, 1, 453. According to an article in the Catalan-Venetian two years' truce of April 1331, Don Alfonso and the Company were not to molest Pteleum so long as the inhabitants remained under the dominion of the republic (*Dipl.*, doc. CLIII, p. 199, and Thomas, *Diplomatarium veneto-levantinum*, 1, no. 108, p. 218).

65. Loenertz, *Arch. FF. Praed.*, XXV, no. 10, p. 105, notes that Pharsala, Domokos, and Gardiki do not occur in the documents relating to the Catalan duchies, and so must have been lost early. Liconia also does not appear in the documents.

66. *Dipl.*, doc. CXLI, p. 172: "... Patria, qui es cap del pahis e es cap del ducam de la Blaquia"

from 1317 to about 1330; why he was removed from office we do not know. On November 20, 1330, he was made hereditary count of Malta and Gozo in the mid-Mediterranean.⁶⁷ From his wife Marulla he had received the lordship of Aegina and the fortress city of Carystus on the island of Euboea. Marulla also gave him five sons who in after years were to play leading roles in the history of the Catalan duchy of Athens.

For twenty years young Walter II [VI] of Brienne was brought up in the hopes of winning back the Athenian duchy which his father had lost to the Catalan Company in the battle of the Cephissus. His mother Joan of Châtillon and her father the constable of France had kept his interests constantly before the pope, the king of Naples, the doge of Venice, and the king of France. Pope John XXII had continued his support of young Walter's right to the ducal coronet of Athens, and when Walter was ready at last to prosecute his claim by force of arms, the pope directed the Latin patriarch and his venerable brothers of Otranto, Corinth, and Patras to preach a crusade, with "that full forgiveness of all their sins" to those who participated, against the Catalans, "schismatics, sons of perdition, and pupils of iniquity, devoid of all reason, and detestable."⁶⁸ On July 21, 1330, king Robert of Naples granted permission to his feudatories to join Walter's projected expedition against the Catalan Company in the duchy of Athens and, with some reservations, remitted the feudal service due the royal court to those who fought with Walter.⁶⁹ On October 12 king Robert published throughout his kingdom the papal bull (of June 14) announcing the crusade.⁷⁰

In late August 1331 Walter assembled at Brindisi an army apparently too large for his resources; it included some eight hundred French knights and five hundred Tuscan foot; to transport them to Epirus he mortgaged many of his holdings; and, like his father before him, he pledged his wife's dowry in the "business of Athens." As vicar of prince Philip of Taranto, whose daughter Beatrice he had married, Walter occupied the island of Santa Maura (Leucas), the mainland stronghold of Vonitsa, and Arta, capital of the despotate of

67. Cf. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCXCIII, pp. 482–485. The last document to refer to Don Alfonso as vicar-general, *praesidens in ducatu Athenarum*, is dated March 4, 1326 (*Dipl.*, doc. CXXXII, pp. 163–164).

68. *Dipl.*, docs. CL, CLII, pp. 189–191, 193–194, dated June 14, 1330. The ecclesiastical ban levied upon the Catalans did not apply to the lands such as Neopatras and Zeitounion which they had conquered from the Greeks in 1318–1319.

69. *Dipl.*, doc. CLI, pp. 191–192; G. Guerrieri, *Gualtieri VI di Brienne, duca di Atene e conte di Lecce* (Naples, 1896), p. 57.

70. *Dipl.*, doc. CLII, pp. 192–196, dated November 22, 1330.

Epirus, forcing count John II Orsini of Cephalonia to acknowledge the suzerainty of king Robert. Walter made his way across the peninsula, expecting to vindicate by victory in battle the name of Brienne in Greece. The vicar-general of the Catalan Company was Nicholas Lancia,⁷¹ who refused to meet Walter in the open field. The months passed. Walter ravaged the countryside, but his funds were running out. No help could be expected from the Venetians; in April 1331 they had renewed their treaty with the Catalans. On February 28, 1332, in the Franciscan church of St. Nicholas in Patras, archbishop William Frangipani (1317–1337) again proclaimed the ban of excommunication against the Catalans;⁷² Walter's headquarters were apparently at Patras. He found no support anywhere among the native Greeks, which does not speak badly for the years of Don Alfonso's rule. The expedition proved to be a failure, and Walter returned to Brindisi in the late summer of 1332. He had won for himself Leucas and Vonitsa, restored for years the Angevin suzerainty over Epirus, and probably made more secure his hold upon his fiefs of Argos and Nauplia in the Morea.⁷³

During the years 1334 and 1335 Walter contemplated another attempt upon the duchy of Athens. He appealed to the pope, and the usual ecclesiastical fulminations were forthcoming. On August 12, 1334, John XXII repeated his excommunication of the Catalans.⁷⁴ On December 29, 1335, archbishop William Frangipani again excommunicated the leaders of the Catalan Company—duke William of Randazzo; Don Alfonso Fadrique and his sons Peter and James; Nicholas Lancia, the vicar-general of the Company; Odo de Novelles, the marshal; and more than a score of others.⁷⁵ But success depended upon Venice, and on November 4, 1335, the signoria refused, with expressions of their profound love, to help him, although they

71. A document of August 5, 1331, refers to Odo de Novelles, marshal of the Company, as *vicarius . . . in partibus Romanie* (*Dipl.*, doc. CLIV, p. 201). He may have been appointed to command the Company against Walter. Hopf, in Ersch and Gruber, LXXXV, 416b, 422a (repr., I, 350b, 356a), refers to Odo de Novelles as "hereditary marshal" (*Erbmarschall*) of the Athenian duchy, for which there seems to be no evidence.

72. Chas. Du Cange, *Histoire de l'empire de Constantinople*, ed. J. A. Buchon, II (Paris, 1826), 203; Hopf, in Ersch and Gruber, LXXXV, 429–430, and cf. pp. 420–421 (repr., I, 363f., cf. 354 f.).

73. Hopf, *op. cit.*, LXXXV, 430, 441 (repr., I, 364, 375). On the value of the Argolid, note Luttrell, "Latins of Argos and Nauplia," *Papers of the British School at Rome*, XXXIV (1966), 37–38.

74. G. Mollat, ed., *Jean XXII: Lettres communes*, XIII (Paris, 1933), no. 63752, p. 182; printed in full in Lampros, *Eggrapha*, part I, doc. 34, pp. 55–60, and in Rubió, *Dipl.*, doc. CLVIII, pp. 206–209, but incorrectly dated 1333 in both Lampros and Rubió.

75. Du Cange (ed. Buchon), *Constantinople*, II, 204–205; Hopf, *op. cit.*, LXXXV, 436 (repr., I, 370); and on their names, see Rubió, *Dipl.*, p. 208, note.

offered him the use of state galleys to reach Glarentsa or his lands in the Morea.⁷⁶

Through the decade of the 1330's Walter of Brienne continued his diplomatic efforts to ensure that the doge of Venice and the papacy should not forget his claim to the Athenian duchy.⁷⁷ The archbishop of Thebes, however, the tough-minded Dominican Isnard Tacconi, whom Clement V had made titular patriarch of Antioch (in 1311) and John XXII had returned to the Theban minster in the spring of 1326,⁷⁸ entertained Ghibelline sympathies, and was hostile to Walter, who in March 1337 denounced him to the pope and requested the renewal of censure against the Catalan Company.⁷⁹ Two years later, after further inquiry, Benedict XII not only moved to gratify Walter's request, but ordered the vicars of "Constantinople" and Negroponte to cite Isnard and his vicar Gregory of Pavia, also a Dominican, to appear within six months at the curia in Avignon to face charges of having disregarded John XXII's excommunication of the Catalan invaders of the Athenian duchy, in whose presence Isnard had deliberately celebrated mass, and on whose behalf he had falsely published a declaration that the papacy had relaxed the ban of excommunication which had fallen upon them.⁸⁰ Walter of Brienne, however, never returned to Greece, although he always planned to do so. He became in after years the tyrant of Florence (1342-1343), fought at Crécy in 1346, and died a constable of France at Poitiers in September 1356. He was the last of his line.⁸¹

After the Brienne expedition of 1331-1332 the Catalans in Greece enjoyed a period of relative peace and prosperity. When about 1330, or possibly before, Don Alfonso Fadrique was removed from the

76. Hopf, *op. cit.*, LXXXV, 433, 436 (repr., I, 367, 370); *Dipl.*, docs. CLXII, CLXIII, pp. 212-214, and cf. doc. CLXV, pp. 214-215.

77. Cf. *Dipl.*, docs. CLXV, CLXVII, pp. 214-216.

78. *Dipl.*, docs. L, CXXXV, pp. 63, 166-167; *Regestum Clementis V*, annus septimus, no. 8255, pp. 158-159; Du Cange (ed. Buchon), *Constantinople*, II, 196.

79. *Dipl.*, doc. CLXVII, p. 216; Lampros, *Eggrapha*, part I, doc. 37, pp. 67-68; J. M. Vidal, ed., *Benoît XII: Lettres communes*, I (Paris, 1903), no. 5214, p. 493. Walter had read an intercepted letter from archbishop Isnard to king Frederick of Sicily.

80. Vidal, *Benoît XII: Lettres communes*, II (Paris, 1906), no. 7420, pp. 206-207, dated March 16, 1339; *Dipl.*, doc. CLXVIII, pp. 217-220, misdated 1338; Lampros, *Eggrapha*, part I, doc. 35, pp. 60-66; Loenertz, "Athènes et Néopatras," *Arch. FF. Praed.*, XXVIII (1958), nos. 66, 70, pp. 43-44.

81. On Walter's expedition, cf. Setton, *Catalan Domination*, pp. 38-44. Cesare Paoli, "Nuovi documenti intorno a Gualtieri VI di Brienne, duca d'Atene e signore di Firenze," *Archivio storico italiano*, 3rd ser., XVI (1872), 39-52, has published a text of Walter's will dated July 18, 1347 (misdated June 18 by the editor), on which cf. Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes* (Berlin, 1873), pp. XXIX-XXX, 537, and Luttrell, "Latins of Argos and Nauplia," p. 37.

vicariate-general, conceivably at the insistence of the Venetians as the price of their neutrality, the policy of Catalan expansion came to an end. Since his successors were less aggressive, the Venetians worked with them more easily. The Turks became a menace to the Catalans in the Athenian duchy almost as much as to the Venetians in Euboea.⁸² The Venetians may have believed that the Catalan Company, without Don Alfonso, would assist them against the Turks,⁸³ and a Venetian document dated March 4, 1339, probably after Don Alfonso's death, seems to indicate that the Catalans were willing to assist the Venetians to maintain the naval defense of Euboea against the Turks.⁸⁴

As the power and enterprise of the Turks grew, a change in papal policy became necessary; relations between Avignon and Sicily became slightly relaxed (although complete reconciliation would not come until 1372); and in 1339 pope Benedict XII had much fault to find with conditions in the kingdom of Naples (although the papal-Angevin entente remained firm). King Robert could not hope to restore Walter to his distant duchy, and the Turks were an increasing menace to the Angevin principality in the Morea.⁸⁵ Thus it finally came about that, shortly before his death, Benedict XII wrote from Avignon in February 1341 to Henry of Asti, Latin patriarch and bishop of Negroponte, that the Company's procurators would be received at the curia to treat of the Catalans' reception back "into the bosom of mother church."⁸⁶ In 1342 the difficult Isnard died, and the Carmelite friar Philip, formerly bishop of Salona (1332–1342), replaced him as archbishop of Thebes.⁸⁷ Benedict had planned a league of the great powers against the Turks; his successor Clement VI continued his work; and on August 31, 1343, he named the patriarch Henry of Asti papal legate in the crusade against the Turks.⁸⁸ On October 21 of the same year Clement wrote Henry directing him to undertake the reconciliation of Walter of Brienne

82. Cf. Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Ep.* XXI, in Bongars, *Gesta Dei*, II, 314, also in *Dipl.*, doc. CXLIV, pp. 175–176, dated February 15, 1329.

83. Cf. *Dipl.*, docs. CLXII, CLXIII, pp. 212–214. The Venetians would not at any rate give Walter of Brienne any assistance against the Catalans.

84. *Dipl.*, doc. CLXXIII, pp. 225–226, and cf. Hopf, in Ersch and Gruber, LXXXV, 438b (repr., I, 372b).

85. Setton, *Catalan Domination*, p. 47.

86. Georges Daumet, ed., *Benoît XII: Lettres closes, patentes et curiales se rapportant à la France*, fasc. II (1902), no. 810, cols. 515–516; *Dipl.*, doc. CLXXVII, pp. 228–229.

87. *Dipl.*, doc. CLXXIX, pp. 230–231, dated August 26, 1342; in 1351 Philip was transferred from the Theban archdiocese to Conza in southern Italy, and Sirellus Petri succeeded him (*ibid.*, doc. CXCVIII, p. 256).

88. *Dipl.*, doc. CLXXXI, pp. 232–234; Lampros, *Eggrapha*, part I, doc. 39, pp. 70–74; Eugène Déprez, ed., *Clément VI: Lettres closes . . .*, fasc. I (1901), no. 388, cols. 162–163.

and the Catalan Company to advance the planned offensive against the Turks.⁸⁹ After Henry's unexpected death at Smyrna in the Turkish attack of January 17, 1345, the pope gave instructions on April 1, 1345, to continue the efforts to effect peace between Walter and the Company, for it was important to the prosecution of the war against the Turks.⁹⁰ Great interests were at stake, and as the pope had written to patriarch Henry on August 31, 1343, the Turks were "thirsting after the blood of Christian people and yearning for the extinction of the Catholic faith."⁹¹ Finally, on June 15, 1346, at the behest of Humbert II, the dauphin of Viennois, who was then in the east on the second Smyrniote crusade, pope Clement VI removed for three years, without prejudice to the rights of Walter of Brienne, the bans of excommunication and interdict laid long before upon the Catalans and their lands, provided the Catalans furnished a contingent to the army of the crusaders.⁹²

The Catalan Company did not take part in the crusade, and before the expiration of the three-year period, as provided in the papal letter of suspension, the bans were automatically renewed "entirely as before." In 1354-1355, however, king Peter IV of Aragon, while seeking to get possession of the head of St. George, patron of Catalonia, which was preserved in the Catalan castle of Livadia,⁹³ promised the Catalan Company that he would use his full influence to have the interdict lifted.⁹⁴ On September 16, 1356, Peter IV wrote cardinal Peter de Cros, asking him to seek the removal of the interdict "for the confusion of the infidel Turks and of the schismatic Greeks, enemies of the Roman Catholic faith,"⁹⁵ and on December 3, 1358, pope Innocent VI suspended for a year the bans of excommunication and interdict,⁹⁶ but they were renewed "just as

89. *Clément VI: Lettres closes* . . . , fasc. 1, no. 465, cols. 204-205; *Dipl.*, doc. CLXXXII, pp. 234-235.

90. *Clément VI: Lettres closes* . . . , fasc. 2 (1925), no. 1608, cols. 482-484; *Dipl.*, doc. CLXXXIII, pp. 236-237. Rubió, *Dipl.*, p. 237, note 1, questions the date of Henry's death only because he has misdated the document; for the facts and sources, see A. S. Atiya, *Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, pp. 295-296, and Lemerle, *L'Émirat d'Aydin*, pp. 190-194. The crusaders had taken Smyrna from Umur Pasha, emir of Aydin, on October 28, 1344 (Lemerle, *op. cit.*, pp. 186-190); they held the city until its occupation by Timur the Lame in 1402.

91. *Dipl.*, doc. CLXXXI, p. 232.

92. *Dipl.*, docs. CLXXXVIII, CLXXXIX, pp. 242-247.

93. *Dipl.*, doc. CCXIV, p. 293, dated December 1, 1354, and docs. CCXV-CCXX, pp. 293-296. On the extraordinary history of this relic, see K. M. Setton, "Saint George's Head," *Speculum*, XLVIII (1973), 1-12, reprinted in his *Europe and the Levant* . . . , no. VII.

94. *Dipl.*, doc. CCXXI, p. 297, dated March 17, 1355.

95. *Dipl.*, doc. CCXXX, p. 304. Cardinal Peter de Cros was Clement VI's nephew (Conrad Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi*, I [1913, repr. 1960], 19).

96. *Dipl.*, doc. CCXXXV, pp. 309-310.

before," and on December 25, 1363, they were removed again for three years by pope Urban V.⁹⁷ The Catalans had a hard time making peace with the church, and many of them abandoned Latin Catholicism for Greek Orthodoxy.

When Don Alfonso Fadrique died about 1338, Catalan relations with the Venetians in Negroponte, which had much improved since his removal from the vicariate-general of the Company in 1330, became still more friendly. Through the decade of the 1330's, too, the Catalans were anxious to preserve good relations with the Venetians to help offset Walter of Brienne's influence in Naples and Avignon. The Venetians still had occasion, however, from time to time, to complain of Catalan violence and piracy, for in March 1350 the Serenissima was distressed by an attack upon Venetian subjects in Pteleum by "members of the Company and the Albanians," and held up to opprobrium the piratical conduct of Don Alfonso's eldest son, Peter [I] Fadrique.⁹⁸

Peter had succeeded his father about 1338 as lord of Salona, Loidoriki, Veteranitsa, Aegina, and possibly Zeitounion. His fiefs were confiscated to the crown between 1350 and 1355 for reasons, wrote king Frederick III, "which we believe are not unknown to you," but which are in fact quite unknown to us. Peter died before 1355. Nevertheless, his brother James recovered his fiefs, and thus succeeded him, as their father had wished if Peter left no heirs.⁹⁹ A third brother, John, was lord of Aegina and Salamis in 1350,¹⁰⁰ and a fourth, Boniface, possessed—apparently as a legacy from his mother, Marulla of Verona—the stronghold of Carystus in Euboea and certain other valuable properties in Attica which in 1359, after long residence in Sicily, he appeared in Greece to claim.¹⁰¹ With the passing of the vigorous Don Alfonso, the great days of Catalan unity and strength in Greece had come to an end, but with some vicissitudes of fortune his descendants prospered after him.

97. *Dipl.*, doc. CCLV, pp. 338–339. The disaster of the Cephissus was never forgotten at the French-dominated curia, where the Athenian duchy was regarded as the possession *de jure* of the Briennes and their heirs, "ducatus Athenarum detentus agentibus que dicuntur Magna Societas pro interfectione Gualterii ducis . . .," but the bans were periodically lifted from the Grand Company for a good reason.

98. *Dipl.*, doc. CXCIV, p. 253.

99. Cf. *Dipl.*, doc. CCXXIII, pp. 298–299; Rosario Gregario, ed., *Opere rare edite ed inedite riguardanti la Sicilia* (2nd ed., Palermo, 1873), p. 360; *Dipl.*, doc. CCLXXII, pp. 356–357, relating to the possession of Salona, Loidoriki, and Veteranitsa by James, the second son of Don Alfonso.

100. *Dipl.*, doc. CXCVI, p. 254.

101. Cf. Setton, *Catalan Domination*, pp. 50–51.

When the infante Don Manfred, duke of Athens, died at Trapani in Sicily on November 9, 1317, his younger brother succeeded him in the ducal title as William II. Twenty years later, on the night of June 24-25, 1337, their energetic father king Frederick II of Sicily died, and by his will, dated March 29, 1334, William II's right to the duchies of Athens and Neopatras, as well as to certain possessions in Sicily, was confirmed.¹⁰² Frederick II had provided in his will that, if William II wished to go to his dominions in Greece, his elder brother, king Peter II, was to supply him with twenty armed galleys and two hundred knights with pay. The young duke's illness and the confusion in Sicily which followed Frederick II's death prevented any such journey to Greece. On May 11, 1338, duke William II made his own will; three months later he was dead (August 22); and a younger brother, the marquis of Randazzo, became duke John II of Athens. He was the only one of Frederick II's sons with anything like the stature of their father. It is said that in 1344 he sought to raise an army of six hundred knights and four thousand *almogàvers* in Aragon for an expedition against the Turks in the Levant. In his will, dated January 9, 1348, John II of Aragon-Randazzo acknowledged the receipt from the Sicilian royal court of 17,000 ounces of gold "for our voyage to Romania," and he wished the money returned to the court if death should prevent his going to Greece.

On April 3, 1348, John of Randazzo succumbed to the Black Death; his son, Frederick I, succeeded him as duke of Athens. Blasco of Alagón, count of Mistretta and guardian of the young Frederick I, is alleged to have urged his ward to undertake an expedition to Athens in 1349, but like the plan of his father, John II, this too came to nothing, and Frederick I of Aragon-Randazzo died in his turn of the plague on July 11, 1355. Frederick I was now followed as duke of Athens and Neopatras by his nephew Frederick II, who became shortly thereafter king Frederick III of Sicily. Frederick III's rule was never strong in Sicily where he was; it could not be otherwise than weak in Athens where he was not. He prolonged his failure, however, as a sovereign over Sicily and his Greek dominions across the sea through twenty-two years (1355-1377).¹⁰³

In 1351 the Catalans in the Levant got caught in the renewal of the commercial war between Venice and Genoa (1350-1355). King Peter

102. The text of the will has been published by Giuseppe La Mantia, *Archivio storico per la Sicilia*, II-III (1936-1937; published 1938), 13 ff., and see pp. 31-32, 35-36; Rubió, *Dipl.*, doc. CLIX, pp. 209-210.

103. For the above, see Setton, *Catalan Domination*, pp. 15-17, 184, note 27. Duke John I of Athens was John de la Roche (1263-1280).

IV of Aragon took much interest in the Greek dominions of the Sicilian branch of his family, an interest which seems to have been neither much resented nor resisted in Sicily. On June 1, 1351, therefore, Peter wrote the Aragonese and Catalans in Greece, his countrymen whom innate constancy and loyalty, he declares, bound with indissoluble ties to the crown of Aragon with a strength no distance could diminish. His majesty informed the Catalans in Thebes, Athens, and elsewhere, of revolt in his kingdom of Sardinia and Corsica; he was now at war with Genoa and in alliance with Venice; and thus did the Catalans in Greece learn that they too were at war with the Genoese.¹⁰⁴ On January 16, 1351, a treaty had been concluded at Perpignan—it was ratified by the doge on July 12—between the republic and the king of Aragon in order to effect the final destruction of the Genoese. Emperor John VI Cantacuzenus was forced into the alliance against the Genoese.¹⁰⁵ The latter gave a good account of themselves, however, and a fleet of sixty-two ships under Paganino Doria laid siege to the fortress town of Oreus, a Venetian possession in northern Euboea. Catalans of the Athenian duchy dispatched a force of three hundred horse and a large body of foot to hold Oreus against the Genoese and prevent their establishing themselves in the island.¹⁰⁶ After a siege of two months, from mid-August to October 1351, the Venetian fortress was saved by the arrival of aid from Venice and of a strong Aragonese fleet under the admiral Pons of Santa Pau. After this, if the Catalans in Athens and Thebes played any part in the war, record of it seems not to have survived, although we read in one document of Aragonese-Catalan crewmen from the fleet who made their way to the Athenian duchy after suffering shipwreck.¹⁰⁷

On February 13, 1352, near Constantinople a major naval battle was fought when the Venetian and Aragonese fleets sighted the Genoese cruising in "Turkish waters." Both sides claimed victory in a brutal encounter, and Santa Pau wrote to Peter IV of victory over the Genoese, claiming the capture of twenty-three of their galleys, with the destruction of all aboard, and the loss of only twelve

104. *Dipl.*, doc. CXCIX, pp. 257–258.

105. Cf. Camillo Manfroni, "Le Relazioni fra Genova, l'impero bizantino e i Turchi," *Atti della Società ligure di storia patria*, XXVIII (1896–1902), 706 ff., and on the background of the Aragonese-Venetian alliance see the detailed study of Mario Brunetti, "Contributo alla storia delle relazioni veneto-genovesi dal 1348 al 1350," in the *Miscellanea di storia veneta*, 3rd ser., IX (Venice, 1916).

106. Nicephorus Gregoras, XXI, 22 (*CSHB*, III, 47 ff.), but according to a note in William Miller (tr. Sp. P. Lampros), *Ἱστορία τῆς φραγκοκρατίας ἐν Ἑλλάδι*, I (Athens, 1910), 430, note 1, the Genoese attacked Oropus, not Oreus.

107. *Dipl.*, doc. CCV, p. 263, dated August 20, 1352.

Aragonese ships, from which the crews of only two were lost.¹⁰⁸ Nevertheless, the naval battle favored the Genoese, for when the battered fleets of the allies withdrew from the region of the Bosphorus, emperor John VI Cantacuzenus was obliged to make peace with Paganino Doria (May 6), and on August 2 Peter IV wrote to Cantacuzenus in distress at the news of his willingness to make peace with the depraved Genoese, the sons of Belial.¹⁰⁹ With the war as such we are not here concerned, although we may note that the Genoese were defeated at Alghero, a Catalan city in Sardinia, on August 29, 1354, but they captured thirty-five Venetian galleys on November 4 at Zonklon (Navarino), not the least memorable event in the brief reign of the hated doge Marino Falieri. On June 1, 1355, the Venetians made peace with the Genoese. The war would be renewed, in after years, over possession of the strategic island of Tenedos, and would end in 1380-1381 with a Venetian victory in the lagoons of Chioggia and in the subsequent peace of Turin, but since the fleets of both the maritime republics were almost ruined in the encounter, neither Venice nor Genoa was thereafter in any condition to moderate the increasing ambition and enterprise of the Turks.

The loss of a large number of registers from the royal archives of the Catalan kings of Sicily from the years preceding 1355 has left a gap of some twenty years in our knowledge of the inner history of the Catalan states in Greece, which has been little filled by papal and Venetian documents, and even the names of the Catalan-Sicilian vicars-general after Nicholas Lancia and Odo de Novelles are unknown (from 1331 to 1354). King Frederick III's first known act as duke of Athens, however, was to consult Artale of Alagón, the imposing chief justiciar of the Sicilian kingdom, in connection with the request made in December 1355 on behalf of James Fadrique, second son of Don Alfonso, for royal confirmation of his right, now that his brother Peter was dead, to the county of Salona and the lordship of Loidoriki.¹¹⁰ Peter had been dispossessed by the crown, but apparently Artale of Alagón favored the Fadrique petition, because James must have acquired Salona and Loidoriki at this time. King Frederick next received an embassy from the Greek duchies requesting the removal from office of the vicar-general Raymond Bernardi (Ramón Bernat de Sarbou), whose failure to rule in Greece

108. *Dipl.*, doc. CCII, pp. 259-260; cf. docs. CCV-CCIX.

109. *Dipl.*, doc. CCIV, pp. 261-262. On the battle of the Bosphorus (February 13, 1352) and the Cantacuzene peace of May 6 with the Genoese, see Luttrell, "John Cantacuzenus and the Catalans at Constantinople," in *Martínez Ferrando, Archivero*, pp. 265-277.

110. *Dipl.*, doc. CCXXIII, pp. 298-299.

and exact obedience from those under him was exposing the duchies, it was claimed, to extreme danger of collapse.¹¹¹ The Catalan representatives suggested, among others, that James Fadrique should be made vicar-general, which appears not to have been done.

The loss of Catalan documents in Sicily was due not only to wars and fires, but also to the failure to establish a single repository in a central capital. Material was left in Palermo, Catania, and Messina. When the series of extant Palermitan documents begins, the chronology of king Frederick III's appointments to the office of vicar-general remains still obscure, but the documents do furnish us with information about the following vicars-general and supply the following dates for their appointments: Raymond Bernardi (1354–1356);¹¹² Gonsalvo Ximénez of Arenós (1359 and possibly 1362–1363);¹¹³ Matthew of Moncada, grand seneschal of the Sicilian kingdom ("Trinacria") and count of Aderno and Agosta in Sicily (1359–1361 and, officially at least, 1363–1366);¹¹⁴ and the violent Peter de Pou, a Catalan resident in Thebes, who seized from James Fadrique the castles of Salona, Loidoriki, and Veteranitsa (1361–1362), and met his death in an uprising against him in Thebes (1362).¹¹⁵ The powerful Roger de Lluria, who led the opposition to

111. *Dipl.*, doc. CCXXV, pp. 300–301, dated January 27, 1356.

112. *Dipl.*, docs. CCXIV, CCXXV, pp. 293, 300–301.

113. Cf. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCVII, p. 393, properly dated May 30, 1378 or 1379: An appeal for the recovery of funds having been made before the royal court in Sicily, Maria, daughter of the late Frederick III, now queen of Sicily and duchess of Athens and Neopatra, wrote the vicar-general in Greece, "quod anni [decem et] octo vel circa sunt elapsi, vertente questione . . . coram nobili quondam Consalvo Eximes de Arenis [sic], vestro in eodem vicarius officio precessore . . ." The scribal error to the effect that about eight rather than eighteen years had elapsed since Gonsalvo had considered the case misled Rubió i Lluch into misdating doc. CCCVII to May 30, 1368.

Gonsalvo was vicar-general on October 30, 1359 [. . . *penultimo Octubris XIII indictionis*], as shown by a letter of Maria dated June 7, 1378 or 1379, published by Loenertz, *Arch. FF. Praed.*, XXV, p. 202, and cf., *ibid.*, nos. 38, 42, 142–143. The Sicilian chancery began the indictional year with September 1 (as shown clearly by the royal letter in *Dipl.*, doc. CCLXXX, pp. 364–365), and so the thirteenth indiction ran from September 1, 1359, through August 31, 1360. It seems likely that Gonsalvo served again as vicar-general in 1362–1363 (Loenertz, *op. cit.*, nos. 53–55, 59, 87, and especially nos. 142–143, pp. 137, 157).

114. *Dipl.*, docs. CCXLV, CCLXXXIX, pp. 326–327, 376–377, on which note Loenertz, *Arch. FF. Praed.*, XXV, nos. 43, 49, pp. 112, 113, for Moncada's first tenure of office. For his second appointment, see *Dipl.*, docs. CCLIII, CCLIV, CCLVII, CCLXXXIX, CCXC, pp. 336–338, 340–341, 375–378, and Loenertz, *op. cit.*, nos. 66–69, 75, 83, pp. 117–118, 120, 122. Moncada's second appointment had terminated before August 3, 1366, when a royal letter officially styles Roger de Lluria vicar-general (*Dipl.*, doc. CCLXXI, p. 355). In the *Diplomatari*, doc. CCLXVII, with its reference to Moncada (pp. 350–351), should be dated 1362 (Loenertz, *op. cit.*, no. 50, p. 113).

115. Matthew of Moncada was still vicar-general on June 17, 1361 (*XVII Iunii XIII indictionis*), when Peter de Pou advised him in certain suits involving the interests of the

Peter de Pou, was marshal of the Company before December 1354; he took over the functions and apparently usurped the title of vicar-general from 1362 to 1366. He was assisted by his brother John, and the pope was sadly aware of their dominance in the capital city of Thebes, since for a while they used Turks to maintain their position.¹¹⁶ The royal court in Sicily recognized Roger's authority from some time before August of the latter year until, presumably, his death in 1369 or 1370.¹¹⁷ His successor was the ineffective Matthew of Peralta, of the family of the counts of Caltabellotta in Sicily (1370–1374).¹¹⁸ Finally, the grandson of the great Don Alfonso, Louis Fadrique, the "last count of Salona," was vicar-general from April 1375 to the fall of 1381.¹¹⁹ He died the following year.

marshal Roger de Lluria (*Dipl.*, doc. CCLXXXIX, pp. 376–377, and cf. Loenertz, *Arch. FF. Praed.*, XXV, no. 49, p. 113), but Peter must have been himself appointed to the vicariate soon thereafter, perhaps on Moncada's recommendation. For example, a document of August 3, 1366, recalling the tragic events of early 1362, refers to the seizure of Salona, Loidoriki, and Veteranitsa, "que [castra] . . . per Petrum de Putheo, tunc vicarium dictorum ducatum, eiusque complices et consortes occasione guerre tunc vigentis ibidem occupata detenebantur contra iusticiam et per vim . . ." (*Dipl.*, doc. CCLXXII, pp. 356–357; Loenertz, *op. cit.*, no. 52, p. 114). Peter de Pou was removed from office before May 28, 1362, when Frederick III appointed a new vicar-general (*Dipl.*, docs. CCC–CCCVI, pp. 388–393; Lampros, *Eggrapha*, part IV, nos. 1–7, pp. 233–238; and for the dating, see Loenertz, *op. cit.*, nos. 53–60, pp. 114–116).

116. Cf. Urban V's letter of June 27, 1364, to Roger and John de Lluria in Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Reg. Vat. 246, fol. 241^r: "... quod vos contagiosa familiaritate a participatione infidelium Turchorum, vestras famam et animas maculantes, ipsos in terris vestris receptatis eisque datis auxilium et favorem . . ." (also in *Dipl.*, doc. CCLVI, p. 339, where by a slip the text reads "receptis," which is untranslatable, for "receptatis"). A Venetian document of July 25, 1365, refers to Roger de Lluria both as *vicarius Thebarum* and as marshal and *vicarius generalis universitatis ducatus Athenarum* (*Dipl.*, doc. CCLVIII, p. 341), and Venetian documents of August 28, 1365, and July 5, 1369—both relate to Roger's seizure of some 520 *hyperperi* from a Venetian citizen in August 1362—identify Roger as *vicarius universitatis Athenarum* (*Dipl.*, docs. CCLX, CCCXIII, pp. 344, 400). The titles are as odd as his position was irregular. On August 3, 1366, however, Frederick III addressed Roger officially as *ducatum Athenarum et Neopatrie vicarius generalis* (*Dipl.*, doc. CCLXXI, p. 355; Lampros, *Eggrapha*, part IV, no. 89, p. 335), which shows that his appointment must have preceded this date.

117. Roger de Lluria was still the vicar-general on November 16, 1368 (*Dipl.*, doc. CCCXI, p. 397).

118. Cf. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCXXI, pp. 408–410, dated May 31, 1370, the appointment being made *ob mortem nobilis Rogerii de Lauria*, at which time a third nomination of Matthew of Moncada was annulled. Peralta was still vicar-general on January 18–19, 1374 (*Dipl.*, docs. CCCXLII, CCCXLV, pp. 430, 432). He probably did not live many months longer, and was dead before April 18, 1376, when the Venetian senate was asked to transport his two sons from Thebes to their home in Sicily (*Dipl.*, doc. CCCLXII, pp. 446–447).

119. Louis Fadrique, son of James, had obviously taken over the functions of the vicariate after the death or incapacitation of Matthew of Peralta (cf. *Dipl.*, docs. CCCXLVIII, CCCL, pp. 435–437). His commission as vicar-general is dated April 6–9, 1375 (*Dipl.*, docs. CCCLI, CCCLIII), on which cf. Loenertz, *Arch. FF. Praed.*, XXV, nos. 132, 134–135, pp. 134, 135, 157.

If the Theban uprising of 1362 caused excitement at the royal court in Sicily, it also produced a ripple at the papal court in Avignon. Here interest fastened on the money and other assets left by Peter de Pou's supporter and fellow victim Michael Oller, Catalan dean of the church of Thebes, who died intestate. Like others of his time, Oller must have found the ecclesiastical life remunerative, for in addition to other property he is said to have left cash amounting to some 5,000 or 6,000 gold *regales* Majorcan.¹²⁰ While we are under no obligation to audit accounts six centuries old, we may well wonder how much of Oller's cash and *alia bona* he had lifted from the estate of the late Sirellus Petri, archbishop of Thebes.

Pope Urban V was wondering the same thing when on November 3, 1363, he wrote the Franciscan friar Thomas, archbishop of Paros and Naxos, that his predecessor Innocent VI had learned that all the movable goods, property, and income of the late Sirellus Petri were properly reserved for the holy see. Nevertheless, the recently deceased Michael Oller, dean of the church of Thebes, and his accomplices had illegally seized Sirellus's possessions and usurped his income. Innocent VI had therefore instructed Thomas of Paros, archbishop Nicholas of Athens, and bishop Nicholas of Andros to conduct a full investigation of Sirellus's assets, which Thomas tried to do, but reported back to the curia in Avignon that he had encountered an obstacle. When in obedience to the papal mandate he had claimed Michael Oller's estate for the apostolic treasury, one Grifon of Arezzo, a canon of Coron, had intervened. Grifon represented himself as the vicar-general of Peter Thomas, now archbishop of Crete, but at the time bishop of Coron. Since May 1359 Peter Thomas had been apostolic legate *in partibus ultramarinis* (he later increased his fame by the part he played in the Alexandria crusade of 1365).¹²¹ Grifon stated that Oller's movable goods had been especially reserved by papal letters for Peter Thomas, and he so warned the archbishops of Paros and Athens in the course of their investigation, as well as archbishop Paul of Thebes. Grifon in fact informed them all that they faced the prospect of excommunication if they acted contrary to the special commission which he held from the legate Peter. Under these circumstances, Thomas of Paros wrote the pope, he had desisted from execution of the papal mandate until he could receive further instructions from Avignon. At this point Urban could consult the legate Peter Thomas himself about Grifon's asser-

120. *Dipl.*, doc. CCLII, p. 335, dated at Barcelona August 26, 1362; king Peter IV of Aragon claimed Oller's estate for the latter's next of kin.

121. See below, pp. 297-298, 352-357.

tions, for Peter was in Avignon, having just returned from the east. The legate was unaware of any papal concession of Michael Oller's estate (and the possessions of the late Sirellus), and denied ever having authorized Grifon to claim it for him. The pope therefore directed his grace of Paros to take over and restore to the holy see the properties and revenues left by Sirellus (which were chiefly at issue), notwithstanding the alleged mandate of Grifon or of any other claimant of whatsoever rank or condition who might appear on the scene. Thomas of Paros was, if necessary, to have recourse to the secular arm, and whoever might seek to impede him exposed himself to excommunication.¹²²

In the meantime, in 1362, possibly as a result of the seizure of money or property belonging to a Venetian citizen,¹²³ the marshal Roger de Lluria and his partisans found themselves virtually at war with Peter Gradenigo, Venetian bailie of Negroponte. Although we know little of the extent of Catalan or Venetian operations, hostilities continued until 1365. There was discord in the Catalan duchies, and Roger lacked a legal basis for his exercise of authority. He sought the assistance of the Turks, as had Don Alfonso a generation before, and early in 1363 Turks were admitted within the walls of Thebes. Paul, archbishop of Thebes (1357–1366) and later the Latin patriarch,¹²⁴ and three other notables appeared before Frederick III in Sicily, allegedly as "envoys or ambassadors sent by certain municipalities . . . of the aforesaid duchies." In July or early August 1363 they informed the royal court that Turkish troops had entered Thebes, and it was now (on August 16) that Frederick reappointed Matthew of Moncada as vicar-general to free his faithful citizens of

122. Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Reg. Vat. 246, fols. 45^v–46^v. On Peter Thomas's activities in 1362–1363, see Boehlke, *Pierre de Thomas*, pp. 204 ff. Peter Thomas was bishop of Coron from May 10, 1359, until his successor was elected on February 17, 1363; he held the archiepiscopal see of Crete from March 6, 1363, until his appointment to the Latin patriarchal title of Constantinople on July 5, 1364; he helped lead the Alexandria crusade of 1365, and died on January 6, 1366. Cf. Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, I, 212, 215, 206. Sirellus Petri, whose possessions were at issue, was a native of Ancona; he was archbishop of Thebes from May 20, 1351, until his death before May 15, 1357, when the well-known Paul of Smyrna was selected as his successor (Eubel, *op. cit.*, I, 482, and *Dipl.*, doc. CCXXXII, p. 305). Archbishop Thomas of Paros and Naxos was a Franciscan; he held the island sees from June 30, 1357, but the date of his death appears still to be unknown (Eubel, I, 358). Nicholas de Raynaldo was appointed archbishop of Athens on June 19, 1357 (Eubel, I, 115, and *Dipl.*, doc. CCXXXIII, pp. 306–307), and died before June 6, 1365 (Loenertz, *Arch. FF. Praed.*, XXVIII, nos. 137, 139–140, 142, 152, 159). Nicholas of Andros was an Augustinian; appointed bishop on July 14, 1349, he died before June 16, 1376 (Eubel, I, 89, and Loenertz, *loc. cit.*, nos. 112, 190).

123. *Dipl.*, docs. CCLX, CCCXIII, pp. 344, 400: "... quoddam damnum . . . ad summam yperperorum quingentorum viginti duorum . . ."

124. Cf. *Dipl.*, docs. CCXXXII, CCLXIV, pp. 305, 347; Eubel, *op. cit.*, I, 206.

Thebes from the horrors of the infidel encampment in their midst. The delegation from Greece had apparently requested Moncada's return to the vicar's palace in Thebes. He was to proclaim an amnesty; receive into his charge the castles and fortified places on the royal domain; appoint castellans, veguers, and captains, and receive their oaths of fealty in the king's name; and collect crown revenues and proper exactions for the support of himself and his retinue, for the maintenance of royal castles, and for his various official burdens.¹²⁵ Although Moncada did not go into Greece to assume his command, he did dispatch an armed force against the doughty marshal de Lluria, whose troopers annihilated them.¹²⁶ Roger's troopers may have included his mercenary Turks, and the Turkish menace was then weighing heavily on the seraphic minds of the hierarchy in France.

Curial officials were talking constantly about the crusade, for in Avignon on March 31, 1363, king John II of France, Peter I of

125. *Dipl.*, doc. CCLIII, pp. 336–337; Gregorio, *Opere rare*, pp. 357–358. Roger de Lluria's contingent of Turks was said to be a menace to both town and countryside: "... fideles nostri tam cives quam agricolae aliique ad civitatis ipsius per tramites discurrerent tam mares quam feminae diversa gravia et abominanda flagitia patiantur..." (*Dipl.*, p. 336).

During his sojourn in Sicily, having obviously fled from Roger de Lluria, archbishop Paul of Thebes served Frederick III as envoy to Naples when in 1363–1364 efforts were being made to arrange peace between queen Joanna I of Naples and Frederick, *detentor insule Sicilie* (for the whole course of negotiations, see Setton, "Archbishop Pierre d'Ameil in Naples," *Speculum*, XXVIII, 643–691). Paul consulted with the then archbishop of Naples, Peter d'Ameil, concerning the possibility of arranging a marriage between Constance, *ducissa Athenarum*, and Aimon III, eldest son of count Amadeo III of Geneva. Constance was the daughter of the late John of Randazzo, duke of Athens and Neopatras from 1338 to 1348 (Setton, *op. cit.*, p. 669), and she apparently bore the courtesy title duchess of Athens. Peter d'Ameil gave some consideration to the proposal, although he was trying strenuously to marry Aimon to duchess Joanna of Durazzo, perhaps the richest heiress in Italy, niece of queen Joanna and stepdaughter of Philip II of Taranto, who then bore the title prince of Achaea. See the letters of Peter d'Ameil dated October 29, 1363 (*Dipl.*, doc. CCCXV, pp. 401–402, text incomplete, misdated 1369; Lampros, *Eggrapha*, part I, doc. 47, pp. 86–88; A. Mango, *Relazioni tra Federico III di Sicilia e Giovanna I di Napoli* [Palermo, 1915], doc. XLIII, pp. 93–96; and cf. Setton, *op. cit.*, pp. 657–659) and July 12, 1364 (*Dipl.*, doc. CCCXIV, pp. 400–401, misdated 1369; Lampros, *Eggrapha*, part I, doc. 46, pp. 85–86; not in Mango; and cf. Setton, *op. cit.*, pp. 682–683, note). The letter given by Rubió in the *Dipl.*, doc. CCCXII, pp. 398–399 (from Lampros, *Eggrapha*, part I, doc. 45, pp. 82–84), is misdated January 4, 1369; it was actually written on December 29, 1363, and sent on the following January 4 (Mango, *Relazioni*, doc. L, pp. 116–118); it concerns duchess Joanna of Durazzo, and has nothing to do with the so-called "duchess of Athens" (Setton, *op. cit.*, pp. 665–666). Cf. the summaries in Loenertz, *Arch. FF. Praed.*, XXV, nos. 70–71, 74, and *ibid.*, XXVIII, nos. 151, 154–156; on the activities of archbishop Paul in the Greek world, see K. M. Setton, "The Byzantine Background to the Italian Renaissance," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, C (1956), 45–46, reprinted in his *Europe and the Levant* . . . , no. I.

126. *Dipl.*, doc. CCXC, p. 378; Lampros, *Eggrapha*, part IV, no. 20, p. 257; Loenertz, *Arch. FF. Praed.*, XXV, no. 67, p. 117.

Cyprus, cardinal Elias Talleyrand of Perigord, and various nobles had taken the "red cross of Outremer." King John was made "rector and captain-general" of the expedition, and Talleyrand the papal legate. Urban V offered John a tithe to be levied in France, as well as unassigned and unspent gifts, fines, legacies, penances, and the like of the past twelve years and similar subsidies for the next six "to help with the vast expenses" of the projected expedition. The French hierarchy was to gather the allotted funds every six months and submit them in gold to the curia within two months of each collection, and rather elaborate precautions were supposed to be taken to see that this financial harvest was expended solely on the crusade. Papal letters went out to most of the important princes and prelates of Christendom, announcing the crusade (which was to set out on March 1, 1365), granting the crusaders the usual indulgences, and taking their possessions under the protection of the holy see.¹²⁷ Obviously marshal Roger de Lluria had not chosen a good time to admit Turks into the capital city of Thebes.

We cannot pursue here the details of Urban V's untiring efforts to help organize a crusade, but one can imagine the reaction at the curia when word reached Avignon "that in the city of Thebes and other places roundabout a profane multitude of infidel Turks are dwelling," as Urban wrote archbishop Bartholomew of Patras on June 27, 1364, "and constantly striving to attack the lands of your church of Patras and other nearby areas belonging to the faithful." Urban charged the archbishop "that fired with the love of God and with fervor for his faith you should rise up against these Turks, manfully and as powerfully as your strength allows, so that with God's right hand providing you and his other servants with valor the said Turks may be repulsed . . . , and you stepping forth as a true boxer of Christ may gain more fully thereby the reward of eternal recompense and the plenitude of our grace."¹²⁸ On the same day Urban addressed a letter of grim remonstrance to the brothers Roger and John

127. N. Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières* (Paris, 1896), pp. 158-162 (on p. 160, line 3, read 1362 for 1363), 165-172, and Boehlke, *Pierre de Thomas*, pp. 211-216; P. Lecacheux, ed., *Lettres secrètes et curiales du pape Urbain V (1362-1370) se rapportant à la France*, I, fasc. 1 (Paris, 1902), nos. 346-347, pp. 40-41. Cardinal Elias Talleyrand died in January 1364, and was replaced as legate for the crusade by Peter Thomas, who already held general legatine authority in the east.

128. Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Reg. Vat. 246, fol. 240, letter dated at Avignon on June 27, 1364. In a bull, directed *ad perpetuam rei memoriam* and dated March 21, 1364, Urban V excommunicated among various other classes of malefactors those who supplied horses, arms, iron, timber, and *alia prohibita* to the Moslems, who carried on war against the Christians (Arch. Segr. Vaticano, Reg. Vat. 246, fol. 141^v, "datum et actum Avinione XII Kal. Aprilis anno secundo").

de Lluria, ordering them to dismiss their Turkish mercenaries and take up arms against them, restore to the Theban church the goods and properties they had seized, and readmit archbishop Paul to his defenseless see.¹²⁹

The Angevin bailie of the principality of Achaëa and Manuel Cantacuzenus, the despot of Mistra, together with the Venetians and the Hospitallers, employed their resources in common to combat the Turkish peril. The Turks were defeated in a naval battle off Megara, southern fortress of the Catalan duchy of Athens; they lost thirty-five ships, and looked to the walls of Thebes for safety and to the assistance of Roger de Lluria. But in the long run the defeated Turks would be a poor ally, and the indignant pope, the inimical Angevin, and the sage Venetian the wrong enemies. Roger therefore sought peace with the Venetians in Euboea, and on July 25, 1365, the senate, with some reservations, sanctioned the cessation of hostilities, and so informed their bailie in Negroponte.¹³⁰ When the Turks had departed from Thebes, and peace was thus restored with the Venetians, close relations were finally reëstablished between the rebellious Catalans in the Athenian duchy, led by the marshal Roger de Lluria, and their king and duke in distant Sicily.

On February 24, 1365, king Frederick III had directed his cousin James Fadrique and Roger de Lluria to receive his appointee Matthew of Moncada as vicar-general of the duchies of Athens and Neopatras and to help him secure possession of the royal castles of Livadia, Neopatras, and Siderokastron. Frederick now stated that he had appointed Moncada to the office for life, and he professed to believe that previous letters to this effect had been lost.¹³¹ It seems

129. *Dipl.*, doc. CCLVI, pp. 339–340, and cf. Lecacheux, *Lettres secrètes et curiales*, I, fasc. 2 (Paris, 1906), no. 1050, p. 163.

130. *Dipl.*, doc. CCLVIII, pp. 340–341, and cf. Setton, *Catalan Domination*, pp. 60–61. Loenertz, *Arch. FF. Praed.*, XXV, nos. 68, 73, pp. 118, 119, is doubtless correct in assuming that Roger de Lluria's Turks were not an Ottoman contingent, sent to his aid by sultan Murad I, but mercenaries secured from one of the emirates of Asia Minor. The Turkish defeat off Megara, formerly put in the summer of 1364, should conceivably be dated about 1359–1360, and may explain how Roger came to hire Turks in the first place, but the chronology is uncertain (cf. Loenertz, *op. cit.*, pp. 430–431). According to the Aragonese *Chronicle of the Morea* (ed. Morel-Fatio, *Libro de los fechos* [Geneva, 1885], par. 685, p. 151), when Walter of Lor was bailie of the Angevin principality (1357–1360), he burned thirty-five Turkish ships after an encounter at Megara, his allies in the undertaking being the despot Manuel Cantacuzenus, the Venetians, and the Hospitallers, "and the Turks fled to Thebes, to Roger de Lluria, who was at that time vicar and governor of the duchy." The imperial historian John Cantacuzenus, IV, 13 (*CSHB*, III, 90, lines 3–7), alludes to the same event and also identifies Roger de Lluria by name (cf. D. M. Nicol, *The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos [Cantacuzenus]*, ca. 1100–1460 [Washington, D.C., 1968], p. 125). In any event we have seen that the papal correspondence makes it perfectly clear that there were Turks in Thebes early in 1364.

131. *Dipl.*, doc. CCLVII, pp. 340–341.

safe to assume that the Catalan feudatories had merely disregarded the royal letters of appointment. But after Roger's destruction of the advance force which Moncada had sent into Greece, the latter seems to have entertained no enthusiasm for taking up his honorific but perilous post. In a recently published letter to Moncada dated August 9, 1365, Frederick informed him that an envoy bringing a petition (*capitula*) from the Company had just described the daily harassment of the duchies by the Venetians. The king's subjects overseas complained that they were left without proper protection because of the absence of the vicar-general, and were being forced into an alliance with the doge and republic of Genoa, "and if this should take effect, which heaven forbid, quite obviously the abdication of the duchies from our sovereignty and dominion would follow. . . ." Frederick could not tolerate the prospect of losing Greece, the provincial ornament in his crown, which his predecessors had won by the clash of arms and the shedding of blood. The Catalan duchies must not perish for want of a defender. Moncada was to proceed to Greece with an adequate force within three months or Frederick would replace him with another vicar-general.¹³²

Even if Roger de Lluria's government was illegal and he could not protect the Athenian duchy from Venetian depredation, there was still no way to get rid of him. There was a large work of political reorganization to be done, and since Frederick III was obliged to accept accomplished facts, some of his rebellious subjects were to be rewarded for their self-willed estrangement from the crown. A score of documents testify to the administrative activity of the year 1366. We must pass over various matters, but should note that when on August 3 king Frederick wrote marshal Roger de Lluria (concerning certain Fadrique property claims), he addressed him for the first time as vicar-general.¹³³ Roger's boldness had been justified by his success, for at Messina on May 14, 1367, a chancery clerk prepared another royal letter of commission that signalized his official appointment to the office he had exercised for some five years in the protection and pursuit of his own interests, and the various officials of all the municipalities of the duchies of Athens and Neopatras were informed by letters patent of his appointment as vicar-general.¹³⁴ Grants of land and privilege made to Roger in years past by John II of Randazzo and his son Frederick I, dukes of Athens from 1338 to 1355, by his majesty's late brother Louis, king of Sicily (1342-

132. Loenertz, *Arch. FF. Praed.*, XXV, 428-429, document dated at Messina on August 9, 1365.

133. *Dipl.*, doc. CCLXXI, pp. 355-356.

134. *Dipl.*, docs. CCLXXXVI, CCLXXXVII, pp. 370-372.

1355), and by Frederick III himself were now confirmed,¹³⁵ and the royal indulgence was formally renewed to the energetic Roger and his partisans for the many crimes of violence of which they had been guilty during the uprising at Thebes in 1362, when Peter de Pou and his wife Angelina were killed, as well as Michael Oller, then dean of the Theban minster, and a number of others, some of whom are named in the document.¹³⁶

Roger de Lluria and his heirs were confirmed in possession of the town of Stiris in Phocis and of a stronghold called Methocya.¹³⁷ Stiris had belonged to Ermengol de Novelles, who had been adjudged a "rebel" in 1365 because of his failure to surrender the castle of Siderokastron to the vicar-general Moncada when ordered by Frederick III to do so, whereupon James Fadrique had virtuously seized the castle in the king's name and continued to hold it as his own castellany!¹³⁸ Roger had occupied Stiris in even less graceful fashion, for Ermengol had mortgaged the place for 8,000 hyperpers of gold to Bernard Desvilar, whom Roger had "wickedly slain in his own house," during the outbreak of violence at Thebes. When Desvilar's widow Beatrice married Bernard Ballester, Roger required them to surrender their rights to Stiris for a mere 2,000 hyperpers, which of course he never paid. Since he had a tyrant's grasp upon the duchies, he could thus add insult to injury, but years later, in 1381, Ballester was to secure a royal judgment against Lluria properties in the city and district of Athens.¹³⁹ By then Roger de Lluria had been dead for more than a decade. Death often came more quickly than justice in the Catalan duchies.

At the beginning of the year 1367 the free inhabitants of the duchies had assembled in their town councils to provide for the future, now that the uncertainties of rebellion and war seemed to be past. A general assembly had met at Thebes and prepared a petition for presentation to king Frederick III in Sicily. The chancellor of the Catalan Company affixed the seal of St. George to the petition, called by Rubió i Lluch the "Articles of Thebes," on January 2, and on May 18 its provisions were read to the king at Messina, and he answered them one by one. He insisted upon retaining the final right of appointment to the important castles of Livadia, Neopatras, and

135. *Dipl.*, doc. CCLXXXVIII, p. 373, dated May 16, 1367.

136. *Dipl.*, doc. CCXC, pp. 377-379, dated May 18, 1367.

137. *Dipl.*, doc. CCXCI, pp. 379-380, dated May 18, 1367.

138. *Dipl.*, docs. CCLVII, CCCXCII, CDXVIII, pp. 340-341, 480, 499, dated in 1365 and 1380.

139. *Dipl.*, doc. DCCXIII, pp. 743-744; Loenertz, *Arch. FF. Praed.*, XXV, nos. 75-76, 195, pp. 120, 149-150, 183, 185-186.

Siderokastron, and he maintained the young Louis Fadrique in possession of Siderokastron, although this was apparently not to the liking of marshal Roger de Lluria. He agreed to a (modified) renewal of the appointment, as we have seen, of Roger as vicar-general; agreed to the desired amnesty for Roger and his partisans; and agreed to the expropriation, more or less, of properties of the late Peter de Pou in favor of the marshal as compensation for the expenses he had undergone and the losses he had suffered.¹⁴⁰ But apparently Francis of Cremona, Roger's representative in Messina, was insistent with regard to Siderokastron, because a month later, on June 11 (1367), the king granted a life appointment to the castellany and captaincy of Siderokastron to Nicholas de Sosa, ordering young Louis Fadrique to desist from his exercise of those offices.¹⁴¹ Thus did king Frederick III try to restore peace to his Greek dominions.

Following the declaration of the Articles of Thebes in 1367 there were some years of uneasy peace in the Catalan duchies, although, to be sure, in 1370–1371 the nephews of Walter II of Brienne, his sister Isabel's sons—John of Enghien, count of Lecce, Louis, count of Conversano, and Guy, lord of Argos and Nauplia—actually embarked upon a campaign against the Catalans.¹⁴² But they failed to win Venetian support to help wrest the Athenian duchy from that “nefarious Company of Catalans who seized and still retain the aforesaid duchy against God and justice.”¹⁴³ The Briennist heirs

140. *Dipl.*, doc. CCLXXXIX, pp. 374–377. The castles of Livadia and Neopatras were at the king's good pleasure in *dictarum universitatum custodia*, which meant that the town councils provided and controlled the garrisons, but the king refused to delete the saving phrase *ad beneplacitum regie maiestatis* in his grant of the custody since it would derogate from the royal dignity, and emergencies might at some time require him to appoint castellans whom he could trust to take charge of the castles. For further details concerning the petition, see Loenertz, *Arch. FF. Praed.*, XXV, nos. 93, 98, pp. 125, 126.

141. *Dipl.*, doc. CCXCV, pp. 383–384.

142. A Venetian document of March 21, 1396, in Misti, Reg. 43, fol. 119^r, seems to refer to Guy of Enghien's “war” with the Catalan duchy twenty-five years before (*tempore domini Guidonis de Engino et eo habente guerram cum ducatu Athenarum . . .*). On the futile effort of the Enghien brothers to recover the Athenian duchy, see Luttrell, “Latins of Argos and Nauplia,” *Papers of the British School at Rome*, XXXIV (1966), 41–42. The Enghiens of course claimed only the duchy of Athens, not that of Neopatras (as Luttrell, *op. cit.*, pp. 41, 46, inadvertently says), which the Catalans had taken from the Greeks in 1319.

143. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCXX, pp. 407–408, dated April 22, 1370, and doc. CCXVII, pp. 403–405, dated February 9, 1371 (misdated February 8, 1370, in *Dipl.* and Loenertz, *Arch. FF. Praed.*, XXV, nos. 111–112, p. 130). The latter document appears in the Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Misti, Reg. 33, fol. 91, where it is dated “MCCCLXX ind. VIII die nono Februarii,” which *more veneto* means 1371. Cf. Loenertz, *Arch. FF. Praed.*, XXVIII, no. 172, p. 65, where the year is corrected to 1371, but the day is still wrong.

were thus forced to accept a truce with the Catalans in August 1371, and a proposed marriage alliance between the Enghiens and the Lurias came to nothing.¹⁴⁴ The Catalans in Athens, in the meantime, who had observed with dismay the inept rule of king Frederick III in Sicily, the persistence of the Enghiens, and the ever-growing menace of the Turks, had "on many and diverse occasions" asked queen Eleanor of Aragon, wife of king Peter IV and sister of Frederick III, "that she might be willing to receive them as vassals," and in June 1370 her majesty informed her royal brother in Sicily that she was prepared to take over the Catalan duchies in Greece and would make therefor considerations totaling some 100,000 florins.¹⁴⁵ These negotiations, too, came to nothing, and the Catalans in Athens and Neopatras had to wait another decade before they found themselves directly under the "sacrosanct crown of Aragon."

When Roger de Lluria died near the end of the year 1369 or, very likely, at the beginning of 1370, king Frederick III appointed Matthew of Peralta vicar-general of the Catalan dominions in Greece (on May 31, 1370).¹⁴⁶ The last letter addressed by the king to Peralta as his vicar in Greece is dated January 18, 1374.¹⁴⁷ The late 1360's and the early 1370's found the royal duke of Athens seeking to strengthen his rule in the duchies by appointing Sicilians to critical posts, sometimes to the great annoyance of the Catalan colony in Thebes, or by appointing Catalans who he believed (or hoped) might prove devoted to the crown. The vicariate of Matthew of Peralta must have been welcomed by the pro-Sicilian group in the duchies. On October 28, 1370, however, the king appointed the late Roger de Lluria's chief ally William of Almenara, a Catalan, to the offices of captain and castellan of the town and castle of Livadia. Indeed, he promised Almenara a lifetime tenure of the offices if he could allay the constant strife between the barons and his other "faithful" subjects. In the meantime Almenara was to exercise authority at his majesty's good pleasure.¹⁴⁸ But on October 4, 1373, in the face of a mounting protest, which emanated especially from the capital city of Thebes, the king tried to remove Almenara on the grounds that continuing "dissensions and discords" were causing havoc in the

144. *Dipl.*, docs. CCCXXXI, CCCXXXII, pp. 418-419.

145. *Dipl.*, docs. CCCXXXIII, CCCXXXIV, pp. 411-415, especially p. 414.

146. *Dipl.*, docs. CCCXXI, CCCXXII, pp. 408-411. These documents first inform us of the death of Roger de Lluria, who has been "exercising the office" of vicar-general, and apparently disregarding his formal appointment thereto on May 14, 1367, declare the official removal from office of Matthew of Moncada.

147. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCXLII, p. 430.

148. *Dipl.*, docs. CCCXXV-CCCXXVII, pp. 415-417.

duchies, and besides, his baffled majesty wanted (he said) to observe the Articles of the Company which expressly limited tenure of the offices of veguer and captain to a period not exceeding three years. Frederick was gravely troubled, he informed Almenara, by the chaotic conditions in Greece which had brought "multifarious losses and burdens" upon his faithful subjects, and he was anxious to restore his overseas dominions to a "healthy and tranquil state."¹⁴⁹ It was usually the Catalans in the duchy who insisted upon the three-year tenure of office. Citizens of lower rank resented royal appointments which tended to convert public offices into hereditary fiefs, and if they were unhappy about the intrusion of outsiders from Sicily into their affairs, they were no less opposed to the ambitions of their own more powerful compatriots.

On January 24, 1371, the young Galcerán of Peralta was confirmed in his (earlier) appointment to the castellany of Athens,¹⁵⁰ our first knowledge of an appointee to the command of the garrison on the Acropolis since William de Planis held the position of *castellanus et vicarius Athenarum* in 1321.¹⁵¹ On January 7, 1372, Galcerán, who was apparently a relative of the vicar-general Matthew, was confirmed in the office of veguer and captain of Athens for life, with the right to appoint a substitute every three years, "according to the Customs of Barcelona," the intention being, of course, to circumvent the Customs.¹⁵² Such an obvious subterfuge was bound to prove unsatisfactory, and some twenty months later, on October 4, 1373, Galcerán was officially removed from office, the same day as Almenara was ordered to give up the veguería and captaincy of Livadia, and as a result of the same "dissensions and discords" which had arisen as a result of these prolongations of tenure beyond the statutory limit of three years.¹⁵³ The orders removing Almenara and Peralta authorized the municipal corporations of Livadia and Athens to elect their successors and submit the latter's names for royal confirmation. But nothing was done, and so on January 19-20, 1374, king Frederick III officially replaced Almenara as castellan of

149. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCXXXIX, pp. 427-428.

150. *Dipl.*, docs. CCCXXVIII, CCCXXIX, pp. 417-418.

151. *Dipl.*, doc. CXVI, p. 143. "Guilmus de Planis" looks like the founder of the Ses Planes family, who were still deriving an income from "certain possessions and properties belonging to the castle of Athens and to its guard, defense, and custody" as late as January 7, 1372, when the king annulled their grants extending through three generations; this was done doubtless at the behest of Galcerán de Peralta (*Dipl.*, doc. CCCXXXIV, pp. 421-422). The revenues were to be used thenceforth for the defense of the Acropolis.

152. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCXXXIII, pp. 420-421.

153. *Dipl.*, docs. CCCXXXIX, CCCXLI, pp. 427-430.

Livadia by Francis Lunel (Llunel) of Thebes, and as veguer and captain of Livadia by one Gilbert Vidal, while Peralta was supposed to be succeeded as castellan of the Acropolis by William Pujol, and as veguer and captain of Athens by one Bernard of Vich. Although the vicar-general was duly notified of all these changes in the administration of the Athenian duchy,¹⁵⁴ it is extremely unlikely that any one of the new appointees could enter into the office assigned to him. Peralta in Athens, like Almenara in Livadia, was a petty Pisistratus in a land which has often known tyranny; they were both formidable local figures, and the royal writ no longer ran in Greece.

In the early 1370's Frederick III of Sicily had so completely lost the confidence of the Catalan feudatories in Greece that they had several times expressed the desire to join the Crown of Aragon, and his attempts to reëstablish his rule in Greece by appointing to castellanies, captaincies, and other offices servitors presumably loyal to his interests hardly achieved even a modest success. But his position among the sovereigns of Europe seemed to be raised in 1372 when queen Joanna I of Naples renounced the Angevin claim to the Sicilian kingdom, and pope Gregory XI accepted the Sicilian branch of the house of Barcelona back into the fold of the church.¹⁵⁵ Thus when on November 13, 1372, most of the Christian princes of eastern Europe and the Levant, as well as the doges of Venice and Genoa, were summoned to come in person or send representatives to a congress of alliance against the Turks, scheduled to meet on October 1, 1373, Thebes was chosen as the place of assemblage, because it was "considered to be more convenient than any other place." The congress was being summoned because of the "tearful exposition" of conditions in the Balkans which his holiness had had from archbishop Francis of the Catalan see of Neopatras (1369?–1376), and the many recipients of the summonses (if, indeed, they ever received them) were told that a great multitude of Turks were extending by force of arms their perfidious and infidel sway "to the confines of the kingdom of Serbia and Albania, the principality of Achaea, and the duchy of Athens."¹⁵⁶ The congress apparently never took place,¹⁵⁷ and no union of Latin strength against the Turks was possible at this time. And if it were, the Catalans were in no position

154. *Dipl.*, docs. CCCXLIII–CCCXLVI, pp. 431–434.

155. *Vita Gregorii XI*, in G. Mollat, ed., *Vitae paparum Avenionensium*, I (1914), 421, and cf. Francesco de Stefano, "La Soluzione della questione siciliana (1372)," *Archivio storico per la Sicilia orientale*, XXIX (2nd ser., IX, 1933), 48–76.

156. *Dipl.*, docs. CCCXXXVI, CCCXXXVII, pp. 424, 425, and cf. Loenertz, *Arch. FF. Praed.*, XXVIII, no. 176, p. 66.

157. See O. Halecki, *Un Empereur de Byzance à Rome* (Warsaw, 1930), pp. 254–263. (Variorum Reprint, London, 1972).

to assist a Christian alliance. Toward the end of the year 1374, after the death of the vicar-general Matthew of Peralta, Nerio Acciajuoli, the Florentine lord of Corinth, seized the Catalan castle of Megara, despite its defense by Francis Lunel, whom Nerio captured and kept in prison.¹⁵⁸ Megara was never regained by the Catalans, and it commanded the isthmian road to Athens and to Thebes.

Even before the death of Matthew of Peralta, probably in the mid-summer of 1374, internecine strife was beginning to tear the Catalan duchies apart. Hostility and tyranny grow easily in the thin soil of Greece. In 1366, upon the death of his father James, Louis Fadrique had inherited the lordship of Zeitounion, and despite his tender years was, as we have seen, retained as castellan and captain of Siderokastron, a crown property, from which however on June 11, 1367, Frederick III had tried to remove him because he was still under age.¹⁵⁹ But minor though he was, Louis apparently had no intention of being removed, and maintained his hold upon Siderokastron, which he still possessed at his death in 1382.¹⁶⁰ Louis was soon engaged in a bitter contest with Galcerán of Peralta, who had obviously not obeyed the royal order to give up the castellany and veguería of Athens. The ancient rivalry of Athens and Thebes was reenacted as Louis received support from the latter city, as well as from Livadia.

For whatever reasons, James Fadrique had already in his lifetime ceded to his brother Boniface "all his rights and properties" in the duchy of Athens,¹⁶¹ which must have included the important fiefs of Salona, Loidoriki, Veteranitsa, and Aegina, but obviously not the stronghold of Zeitounion and the castellany of Siderokastron. After the death of the ineffective vicar-general Matthew of Peralta (in 1374), Louis Fadrique and his uncle Boniface were the prime feudatories in Catalan Greece. When Megara fell to Nerio Acciajuoli, and

158. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCLIV, p. 440.

159. James Fadrique was dead before August 3, 1366, as shown by *Dipl.*, doc. CCLXXII, pp. 356-357, and a royal order of the following October 5 reveals his son Louis as in possession of Zeitounion, *castrum Citonis* (*ibid.*, doc. CCLXXXII, p. 366). Nicholas de Sosa's letter of appointment as castellan and captain of Siderokastron refers to the removal from office of Louis, who is directed "quod desistat ab officiis castellanie et capitane . . . terre Siderocastri" (*ibid.*, doc. CCXCV, pp. 383-384, dated at Messina on June 11, 1367), although only three weeks before Frederick had informed the Catalan municipalities in Greece that he was going to leave Siderokastron in Louis's hands (*ibid.*, doc. CCLXXXIX, p. 375, dated May 18, 1367).

160. Cf. *Dipl.*, docs. CCCXCII, CDXVIII, DXXVI-DXXVIII, pp. 480, 499, 579-581.

161. *Dipl.*, doc. CCLXXII, p. 357: "... idem nobilis Jaymus dum viveret cesserit eidem Bonifacio omnia bona sua atque jura que habebat et habere possit in futurum in eodem ducatu Athenarum . . ."

the threat of turmoil was hanging over them, the Catalan municipalities and other districts turned to Louis Fadrique as their governor. On April 6 and 9, 1375, Frederick III confirmed all Louis's official acts, and formally appointed him vicar-general of the duchies of Athens and Neopatras.¹⁶² The ambitious Louis had been getting on badly with his uncle Boniface. He may have challenged the legality or propriety of the late James's cession to Boniface of the castles of Salona, Loidoriki, Veteranitsa, and Aegina. Boniface and his son Peter took up arms against Louis, who finally defeated his uncle and his cousin, sending the latter out of Greece into exile and imprisonment in Aragon.¹⁶³ Louis's father James had ceded the castle and island of Aegina to Boniface "in a donation pure and irrevocable . . . with all rights and appurtenances under certain pacts and conditions," and Aegina had passed to Peter as a gift from his father. But Louis repossessed the island, and later on a royal patent confirmed the legality of his tenure, because Peter had "rebelled" against him when he held the post of vicar-general.¹⁶⁴

Galcerán of Peralta was a tougher opponent, however, and Louis was finally forced to make an agreement with him in "all those pacts, covenants, articles, affirmations, and usages [which king Peter IV of Aragon confirmed in September 1380 after he took over the duchies, and] which were sworn to and affirmed between the magnificent Don Louis of Aragon, the vicar, and the municipalities [*universitats*] of Thebes and Livadia on the one hand and, on the other, the noble Don Galcerán of Peralta, formerly governor [*olim regidor*] of Athens, together with the said municipality of

162. *Dipl.*, docs. CCCL, CCCLI, CCCLIII, pp. 436 ff. Louis had already arranged his own election by some sort of oligarchical acclamation.

163. As the Catalan duchies came under Aragonese sway, king Peter IV wrote Louis Fadrique, *vicari en los ducats de Atenes e de Neopatria*, on September 30, 1379, "del fet que'ns havets fet saber de Pere d'Aragó, vos certifficam que encontinent havem fet prendre aquell, lo qual tendrem tant pres, fins que vos nos haiats fet saber que volrets que s'en fasa" (*Dipl.*, doc. CCCLXXXII, p. 462; Rubió, *Los Navarros en Grecia* [Barcelona, 1886], app., part 2, doc. XVI, pp. 228–229), and so apparently the king intended to allow Louis to determine his defeated rival's punishment. The fortunes of Boniface are less clear; he was dead before September 1380 (cf. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCXII, p. 480): "... magnifich don Bonifaci d'Aragon *quondam*, pare de don Pedro d'Aragon . . .," relating to the latter's loss of Aegina.

164. *Dipl.*, doc. CDXVI, p. 498, dated September 17, 1380: "... dictus Petrus de Aragonia contra vos ut tenentem locum vicarii improvide rebellavit . . ." Cf., *ibid.*, doc. CCCXCII, pp. 480–481. Rubió i Lluich, "La Grècia catalana . . . (1377–1379)," *Anuari de l'Institut d'estudis catalans*, VI (1915–1920), 170–171, believes that Louis captured Peter, and sent him as a prisoner to Aragon (cf. Setton, *Catalan Domination*, pp. 111 ff.). Loenertz, *Arch. FF. Praed.*, XXV, nos. 130, 132, 157, pp. 134, 140, believes that Peter fled to Aragon, where the king had him arrested (*havem fet prendre aquell*, see the preceding note), which may be the case. For an attempt at a sketch of fourteenth-century Aeginetan history, see Setton, *Catalan Domination*, pp. 108–110, note.

Athens”¹⁶⁵ It would appear, then, that young Peter Fadrique was a “rebel” only because Louis defeated him, but Galcerán of Peralta remained a loyal Catalan subject because he successfully opposed Louis, who obviously could not dislodge him from the Acropolis. Galcerán must have had the support of the Catalans in his bailiwick. Although Athens figures in numerous earlier documents, this is the first time, as Loenertz has observed, that the city and its castellan play a leading role in the political history of the Catalan duchies in Greece.

On May 8, 1381, Boniface Fadrique’s widow Dulcia and his son John obtained a royal order from Peter IV of Aragon, who was by this time duke of Athens and Neopatras, for the immediate restoration of the properties they had lost as a consequence of Boniface’s clash with Louis.¹⁶⁶ On the same day Boniface’s name appeared at the head of a list of five persons to whom, posthumously or otherwise, Peter IV granted pardon for whatever offenses “before the said duchies had come under our dominion they have committed against the vicar and other officials by violating the oath and homage by which they were bound.”¹⁶⁷ Whether Dulcia and John Fadrique ever recovered any of their castles and towers we cannot say, nor do we know anything about Salona, Loidoriki, and Veteranitsa from the time Boniface possessed them until we find Louis Fadrique identified as the “count of Salona” in 1380–1381, when his name appears first among *los nobles principals* in a list of the high ecclesiastics and chief feudatories of the Catalan duchies in Greece.¹⁶⁸ The harbor town of Veteranitsa (on the Gulf of Corinth) went with Salona, and so doubtless did the landing at Galaxidi. The fortress of Loidoriki also lay within the orbit of the so-called county of Salona, and Louis held it as well as, to the north, the important castle town of Zeitounion, which he had of course inherited from his father. Louis had apparently been doing well enough when about 1368 or so he married a Byzantine princess, Helena Asenina Cantacuzena, one of the three daughters of Matthew Asen Cantacuzenus, eldest son of (and briefly co-emperor with) John VI Cantacuzenus. In 1361 Matthew had gone into the Morea to settle down after a turbulent career in Constantinople, and had taken Helena with him. For some twenty years Matthew assisted his brother Manuel, despot of Mistra (1349–1380),

165. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCXC1, p. 474.

166. Cf. *Dipl.*, doc. CDLXXXIII, p. 544, but note Loenertz, *Arch. FF. Praed.*, XXV, no. 198, pp. 150–151, and p. 178.

167. *Dipl.*, doc. CDLXXXVIII, p. 547. The purpose of the pardon was to forestall the forfeiture of property to the crown for treason.

168. *Dipl.*, doc. CDLXXXIX, p. 548.

whom he succeeded as *locum tenens* until the end of 1382. Louis and Helena had one daughter, destined to a sad fate.¹⁶⁹ Momentous events occurred during the vicariate of Louis Fadrique (1375–1381). Catalan rule was drawing to a violent close in Athens, Thebes, and Neopatras.

King Frederick III of Sicily died in Messina on July 27, 1377; with him the male branch of the Catalan dynasty in Sicily came to an end. He had wished to leave both Sicily and the duchies of Athens and Neopatras to his fifteen-year-old daughter Maria, although the will of king Frederick II of Sicily, who had died forty years before (1337), had expressly excluded the women of his house from the royal succession.¹⁷⁰ King Peter IV of Aragon therefore laid claim to the island kingdom of Sicily and to the Catalan duchies in Greece. Succession struggles followed in Sicily and possibly in Greece. Maria was eventually to marry Don Martin (in November 1391), grandson of king Peter IV and son of king Martin I of Aragon, and the rival dynastic claims would thus be combined and so settled for both the royal title to Sicily and the ducal title to Athens and Neopatras. But in the meantime Peter IV and his son did not relinquish their claims to the Greek duchies. We know very little about the Catalan states in Greece during 1376 and 1377. No document has survived referring to Athens or Neopatras, and only two documents refer to the capital city of Thebes during these years.¹⁷¹ The young queen Maria of Sicily ruled the duchies after a fashion from 1377 to 1379, and at

169. On Matthew Cantacuzenus, see Nicol, *The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos*, pp. 108–122; on Helena, *ibid.*, pp. 160–162; and on Louis Fadrique's daughter Maria, *ibid.*, pp. 162–163. In the Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Misti, Reg. 40, fol. 129^v, one may find a resolution of the Venetian senate dated August 26, 1388 (with the wrong date in Thiriet, *Régestes*, I, no. 743, p. 179), "quod scribatur domine Hellene Cantacusini olim consorti egregii domini Don Loysii de Aragono domini Sole . . ." [i.e., of Salona]. The despot Manuel died on April 10, 1380, and was succeeded by John V's fourth son, Theodore Palaeologus, who arrived in the Morea about the end of 1382 (Loenertz, in *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, II, 417–420). Matthew himself died in 1383 or 1391, for which the sole evidence seems to be the obscure text of the Short Chronicle of 1391 (Nicol, *op. cit.*, p. 120).

170. For the text and a discussion of the will of Frederick II, dated March 29, 1334, see Giuseppe La Mantia, "Il Testamento di Federico II aragonese, re di Sicilia," *Archivio storico per la Sicilia*, II–III (1936–1937), 13–50. On July 15, 1357, twenty years before his death, and before the birth of his daughter Maria, king Frederick III had guaranteed the succession to the kingdom of Sicily, the duchies of Athens and Neopatras, and certain other rights and possessions to his sister Eleanor and her husband king Peter IV of Aragon in the event he should die "without legitimate offspring, male or female" (*Dipl.*, doc. CCXXXIV, p. 308).

171. *Dipl.*, docs. CCCLXIII, CCCLXIV, pp. 447–449. There is also a resolution of the Venetian senate dated April 18, 1376 (*ibid.*, doc. CCCLXII, pp. 446–447), providing for the return of the two sons of the late vicar-general Matthew of Peralta from Thebes to Sicily in Venetian ships, as noted above, note 118.

least two of her letters relating to Greek matters are extant.¹⁷² But in 1379, despite the presumed opposition of the Sicilian faction in the Athenian duchy, king Peter IV with the loyal support of Louis Fadrique, the vicar-general, and of Galcerán of Peralta, captain and castellan of Athens, finally secured the annexation of the duchies of Athens and Neopatras to the crown of Aragon.¹⁷³ Dissension within the Athenian duchy, however, and the Florentine seizure of Megara left the Catalans ill prepared for the heavy blow which now fell upon them, delivered by the so-called Navarrese Company led by an able captain named John de Urtubia.

The Navarrese Company had fought in the war between Charles II the Bad of Navarre and Charles V the Wise of France. When the war ended in 1366, the Navarrese (reformed as a new company) entered or remained in the service of Louis of Évreux, count of Beaumont-le-Roger, the brother of Charles II of Navarre. Louis was preparing to press by force of arms the claim to the "kingdom of Albania" which he had just acquired through his marriage with the Angevin princess Joanna, duchess of Durazzo. She was a granddaughter of John of Gravina, whose campaign in the Morea in 1325-1326 had first given the Acciajuoli a foothold in the Greek peninsula, and whose exchange of the ill-gotten principality of Achaea for the kingdom of Albania and the duchy of Durazzo (in 1332) had thus given the lady Joanna her title to the Angevin lands in ancient Epirus.¹⁷⁴ In 1368 the kingdom of Albania, together with the city of Durazzo, had fallen to the Albanian lord Charles Topia, and Louis of Évreux was faced with no inconsiderable task if he would give effect to his right to rule over the "kingdom" he had thought to possess through his marriage to the heiress Joanna. Louis received much assistance from his royal brother of Navarre and from Charles V of France. In 1372 very active recruiting added to the numbers of the new Navarrese Company, but the chief contingents and the most important leaders were engaged in 1375 and 1376, and they passed, for the most part, directly from Navarre to Albania. Extensive preparations were made

172. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCVII, pp. 393-394, properly dated 1378 or 1379, and Loenertz, *Arch. FF. Praed.*, XXV, nos. 142-143, pp. 137, 202.

173. For details and for references to the relevant works of Rubió i Lluch, see Setton, *Catalan Domination*, pp. 99-117 and ff.; *Dipl.*, docs. CCCLXXII-CCCLXXXIII, pp. 453-464, dated at Barcelona from September 7 to 30, 1379; and cf. Loenertz, *Arch. FF. Praed.*, XXV, nos. 146-159, pp. 138-141, where no. 158 is misdated by a typographical error.

174. Gregorovius (tr. Lampros), *Athens* [in Greek], II, 127-128; W. Miller, *Latins in the Levant* (London, 1908), pp. 257-258, 260-261; Longnon, *L'Empire latin*, pp. 320-323; and on the duchess Joanna of Durazzo, cf. Setton, "Archbishop Pierre d'Ameil in Naples . . .," *Speculum*, XXVIII, 643-691.

for the expedition, and almost a score of names of military contractors have come down to us in the enrolment lists of 1375–1376.¹⁷⁵ Of the details of Louis's Albanian expedition little is known, but Durazzo was apparently occupied in the midsummer of 1376. Louis died about the same time, and shortly thereafter his widow Joanna married duke Robert of Artois. Most of the Navarrese Company spent about two hard years in impoverished Durazzo (1376–1377). Anxious to return to their homes in Navarre and Gascony, and considering their allegiance to Joanna terminated by her second marriage, the leaders of the Company attempted, early in 1377, to enter the service of king Peter IV of Aragon.

King Peter wrote to the four captains of the Company on June 21, 1377, acknowledging "their wish and obligation to serve him in his wars," and accepting their offer subject to the consent of Charles II of Navarre. The leaders of the Company were Peter de la Saga, Mahiot of Coquerel, both chamberlains of the Navarrese king, and John de Urtubia and a certain Garro (or Guarro), who are designated squires. The king wrote that he would send two ships to convey them back to Spain, but that their horses should come in other transports, of which the Company was said to have a number.¹⁷⁶ Two days later he wrote on their behalf to the king of Navarre.¹⁷⁷ Of the four leaders of the Company (or rather companies) named in Peter IV's letter, all of whom appear in the enrolment lists of 1375–1376, only two were to play an important part in the history of medieval Greece, John de Urtubia as conqueror of Boeotia and Mahiot of Coquerel as bailie of James of Les Baux, titular prince of Achaea and last claimant to the Latin throne of Constantinople. Peter de la Saga and Garro seem to make no further appearance in the documents.

When the plans to serve the king of Aragon came to nothing, Urtubia and Coquerel turned for employment to the Hospitallers, who were now reorganizing their forces in the Morea, where they had leased the Achaean principality for five years from queen Joanna I of Naples, the agreement apparently being made about August 1376.¹⁷⁸ The affairs of the Hospital were in disorder after the grand

175. Published by Rubió i Lluch, *Los Navarros en Grecia, y el ducado catalán de Atenas en la época de su invasión* (Barcelona, 1886), part I, doc. VII, pp. 211–215, and cf. docs. I–III, V–VI. (These documents were unfortunately not reprinted in Rubió's *Diplomatari*.)

176. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCLXV, p. 449: "Als amats nostres mossen P. dela Saya e Mahiot de Cocorell, camarlenchs de nostre car frare lo rey de Navarra, e Johan d'Ortruvia e Garro, escuders." Actually there were four companies (*societates*), each under one of the military contractors named in the royal letter.

177. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCLXVI, p. 450, dated June 23, 1377. This letter expressly states that the Navarrese Company was then in Durazzo.

178. Loenertz, "Hospitaliers et Navarrais en Grèce," *Orientalia Christiana periodica*, XXII

master Juan Fernández de Heredia's unsuccessful campaign against the Albanian prince Ghin Boua Spata of Arta—Heredia was captured in the early summer of 1378, and thereafter held for a large ransom for some ten months by Boua Spata. It was apparently in the early summer of 1378 that Gaucher of La Bastide, prior of the Hospital in Toulouse and Heredia's lieutenant in the Morea, enrolled John de Urtubia's company of one hundred men-at-arms. He agreed to pay 9,000 ducats for eight months' service, 1,000 ducats for maintenance of Urtubia's high estate, and another 1,000 ducats for division among the "corporals" of Urtubia's company. Financial accounts of the Hospital show that one Peter Bordo de Saint Superan, whom the wheel of fortune was one day to make prince of Achaea, belonged to Urtubia's company. Gaucher of La Bastide also enrolled Mahiot of Coquerel with his company of fifty men for eight months, "and the said prior promised to pay him one half the price promised to Janco de Urtubia, namely 5,500 ducats for the stated period." In fact, Coquerel was finally paid more than the sum specified, because he began his service before the date called for by the contract.¹⁷⁹ When the eight months came to an end, early in 1379, Urtubia and his troops moved on to make history in Thebes, while Coquerel and his men remained in the Morea.

King Peter IV had disapproved of the Hospitallers' plans to enlarge their establishment in the Morea, and when Heredia, after his elevation as grand master in September 1377, had summoned commanders and knights of the order to join him in his projected "passage to Romania," the king forbade the Hospitallers in his domains, under penalty of losing their revenues, to go to Heredia.¹⁸⁰ Perhaps the king feared the too close proximity of the armed might of St. John to the Athenian duchy over which he had just declared

(1956), reg. no. 1, pp. 329–330, and cf. doc. I, art. 9, p. 351, and D. Jacoby, "Jean Lascaris Calophéros, Chypre et la Morée," *Revue des études byzantines*, XXVI (1968), 203, note 92. Joanna had succeeded Philip II of Taranto in the Achaean succession in 1373.

179. Royal Malta Library, Valletta, Archives of the Order of St. John, Cod. 321 (Lib. Bullarum, VI, for 1381–1382), fol. 204, financial accounts of the Hospital, dated at Rhodes on August 24, 1381, published by Loenertz, "Hospitaliers et Navarrais en Grèce," *Orientalia Christiana periodica*, XXII, 350–355, arts. 13 ff., 26–27, 28 ff. The accounts show the close connection between Urtubia and Nerio Acciajuoli. Cf. in general Setton, *Catalan Domination*, pp. 122–130, and on the affairs of the Hospitallers (complicated by the Great Schism), Luttrell, "Intrigue, Schism, and Violence among the Hospitallers of Rhodes, 1377–1384," *Speculum*, XLI (1966), especially pp. 33 ff. Heredia was invested with the office of grand master of the Hospitallers by pope Gregory XI on September 24, 1377, for which see Luttrell, "Interessi fiorentini nell'economia e nella politica dei Cavalieri Ospedalieri di Rodi nel Trecento," in the *Annali della Scuola normale superiore di Pisa: Lettere, storia e filosofia*, 2nd ser., XXVIII (1959), 323 and note 6.

180. *Dipl.*, docs. CCCLXVII, CCCLXVIII, pp. 450–451, dated May 10, 1378.

his rule, but his attitude was not likely to please the commanders of the Hospital in the Morea. Although Peter IV remained on friendly terms, apparently, with Heredia,¹⁸¹ the Hospitallers' attitude toward the Catalans in Thebes and Athens was one of hostility, and Heredia's lieutenant in the Morea, Gaucher of La Bastide, clearly abetted the attack of the Navarrese Company under John de Urtubia upon the city of Thebes.

In the early spring of 1379 Urtubia and the so-called Navarrese or White Company, which must have included at least as many Gascons and Italians as Navarrese, set out from the Morea, conceivably from the headquarters of the Hospitallers in Navarino (St. Mary of Zonklon) or Kalamata. They made their way through the Corinthian barony of Urtubia's good friend Nerio Acciajuoli, who also held the Megarid, and launched their attack upon the city of Thebes. They proceeded obviously with the permission and presumably with the encouragement of Nerio. They came most inopportunistically for Louis Fadrique, since the two years of uncertainty which had followed the death of king Frederick III had not prepared the Catalans in the Athenian duchy to withstand a powerful assault. In 1379 the Catalans no longer possessed the strength which had been theirs when they had repulsed Walter II of Brienne in 1331. Also the destruction of the castle of St. Omer on the Cadmea by the Catalans on the occasion of Brienne's expedition, for fear that he might occupy the castle and hold it against them, had made Thebes, although the capital of the southern duchy, much less easy to defend than the Acropolis, known to the Catalans as the "Castell de Cetines." Urtubia and the Navarrese Company took Thebes in a violent encounter, with ample assistance from traitors within the city, one of whom, John Conominas, "revealed himself as quite adept in securing the loss of Thebes, dealing with Messer Nerio [Acciajuoli]." ¹⁸² Whether Urtubia acted as Nerio's ally or employee remains uncertain. Barcelonese documents show clearly that the fall of Thebes was known at the royal court in Aragon by September 13, 1379. ¹⁸³ Allowing three or possibly four months for the bearers of the sad tidings to make the voyage to Barcelona from the Athenian duchy,

181. Cf. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCLXXI, p. 453, dated August 2, 1379.

182. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCXC1, p. 476, lines 12-13: "... lo qual dit Johan se trobà esser bo en la perdua de Estives tractant ensemps ab miçer Aner..." A decade later, a Barcelonese document of January 3, 1390, refers to the siege of Neopatra by Nerio Acciajuoli, "... la ciutat nostra de la Patria asseiat per micer Arner, enemich nostre capital..." (*Dipl.*, doc. DCXXVII, p. 657). For the identification of Aner or Arner, see Loenertz, *Arch. FF. Praed.*, XXV, no. 209, pp. 153, 193-194.

183. *Dipl.*, docs. CCCLXXVIII, CCCLXXX, pp. 459-461.

we may assume that Urtubia took Thebes in May or June 1379.¹⁸⁴ Despite treachery within the walls of Athens on the part of those who wished to see that historic city also succumb to Urtubia, the Acropolis was to remain in Catalan hands for another decade.

After the fall of Thebes to Urtubia, when the Catalan vicar-general, Louis Fadrique, was unwilling to conclude an unfavorable peace with the Navarrese, probably on a basis of the status quo, the Hospitallers sought to bring pressure upon him. On September 23, 1380, Peter IV wrote to Gaucher of La Bastide and the high command of the Hospital in the Morea: "Both by letters sent to us by the eminent Louis Fadrique of Aragon . . . and by the account of his envoy we have learned that you have often requested the same Louis and caused that he be requested to make peace with John de Urtubia and his followers, with the threat that unless he complied, you would proceed to make war upon him, his people and lands, at which we are no little astonished. For you know that the said John de Urtubia . . . with his followers, some time ago, suddenly seized and now holds the city of Thebes and has further plundered and destroyed other places and people belonging to us in the duchies. . . . Since it becomes our majesty to watch over and to defend our peoples, kingdoms, duchies and lands with courage, we require and ask of your Order that upon receipt of the present letter you desist from these threats" ¹⁸⁵ The king threatened the confiscation of the Hospitallers' lands and revenues in his domains if they did not cease thus aiding and encouraging the Navarrese. Two weeks before this,

184. Rubió i Lluch, "Conquista de Tebas por Juan de Urtubia: Episodio de la historia de los Navarros en Grecia," *Homenaje a D. Carmelo de Echegaray: Miscelánea de estudios referentes al País Vasco* (San Sebastian, 1928), p. 389. However urgent Louis Fadrique, Peralta, Bellarbre (see below), Almenara, and other barons, and the officers of the Catalan municipalities may have felt it to inform Peter IV of Urtubia's invasion, their messengers, Bernard Ballester and Francis Ferrer, obviously had to find suitable transport to Barcelona, which may have involved difficulty in view of the turmoil into which the Navarrese had thrown the Athenian duchy.

A "short chronicle" in Codex Paris. gr. 445, fol. 126^v, published by G. T. Dennis, "The Capture of Thebes by the Navarrese," *Orientalia Christiana periodica*, XXVI (1960), 45-47, places the Navarrese seizure of Thebes "at the ninth hour of the night" on Friday, March 6, 1378. But, in 1378, March 6 fell on a Saturday (and in 1379 on a Sunday), which reveals at least one defect in the text. Cf. K. M. Setton, "The Latins in Greece and the Aegean . . .," *Cambridge Medieval History*, IV-1 (1966), 420, note. Also, in the two documents which Loenertz (*Arch. FF. Praed.*, XXV, nos. 142-143, pp. 137, 202) has identified as belonging to the ducal rule in Greece of Maria of Sicily—dated May 30, 1378 (or 1379), and June 7, 1378 (or 1379)—there is clearly no knowledge in Catania of Urtubia's occupation of Thebes as late as June 1378 (or 1379). Taking the earlier date for the latter document (June 7, 1378), however, if Urtubia had captured Thebes on March 6 of that year, the news would have reached Catania in less than three months.

185. *Dipl.*, doc. CDXXV, p. 503.

on September 10, the king had sent two letters of similar tenor to Heredia and other commanders and officials of the Hospital.¹⁸⁶ There is no reason to believe that Heredia himself encouraged Urtubia in the attack upon Thebes, but it is possible that he knew it was in the offing, and he clearly did nothing to prevent it. Little is known of the career of John de Urtubia.

Of Nerio's well-known hostility to the Catalans we shall have further opportunity to speak. But Urtubia found other allies, whether by prearrangement or not, in Nicholas II dalle Carceri, lord of two "thirds" of Euboea and duke of the Archipelago, and in Francis I Giorgio, marquis of Bodonitsa. At the end of April 1381, when king Peter IV informed the Venetian bailie of Negroponte of the (second) appointment of Philip Dalmau, viscount of Rocaberti, as vicar-general of his Greek duchies, he requested Venetian aid to restrain the duke of the Archipelago, the marquis of Bodonitsa, and others from rendering assistance "to our enemies the Navarrese."¹⁸⁷ The Venetians, however, were fighting the Genoese in the War of Chioggia, and the attention of the statesmen of the republic was directed to their affairs in northern Italy rather than in central Greece.

The first known act of Peter IV as duke of Athens and Neopatras is dated September 7, 1379, and in it his majesty notified Romeo de Bellarbre, "castellan and captain of the castle and city of Athens," of the appointment of Philip Dalmau, viscount of Rocaberti (1342–1392), as vicar-general of the duchies of Athens and Neopatras. He directed Bellarbre to give up the Acropolis (*lo castell*) and the city to "mossén Dalmau," his friend and councillor. On the same day a similar letter was written to William of Almenara, who was still castellan and captain of Livadia.¹⁸⁸ Galcerán of Peralta, castellan, captain, and veguer of Athens, had fallen into Urtubia's hands while attempting either to defend or to recover Thebes. Obviously Peter already knew this, for on September 8 he wrote to Peralta as *castellà, capità e veguer del castell e ciutat de Cetines*, addressing the letter either to him *o a son lochtinent*. Bellarbre had been holding the

186. *Dipl.*, docs. CCCXCVIII, CD, pp. 487–489: "... intelleximus quod Johannes d'Ortobia nacionis Navarre, qui pridem cum suis complicitibus . . . civitatem de Estives invasit et gentes in ea habitantes destruxit et improvide disraubavit . . ." (p. 489).

187. *Dipl.*, doc. CDLVII, pp. 525–526, dated April 31 (*sic*), 1381. According to Stefano Magno (d. 1572), in the so-called *Annali veneti*, ed. Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes*, p. 183, "In questo anno [1383] si fo morto Nicolò dale Carcere, ducha del Arcipielago et dominador de do terzi de lisola de Negroponte, havendo fato molte cose cative et desoneste contra suoi subditi. . . . [Nicolò] avea tratado cum una compagnia de Navarexi . . . per signorizar la citade de Negroponte."

188. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCLXXII, pp. 453–454.

"lieutenancy" for some time, as Peter was aware when a chancery clerk prepared the letter of the preceding day. As a legal gesture, however, Peter asked Peralta to give up the *castell e ciutat* to the newly appointed Dalmau, and stated further that "we have received a letter which you have sent us dealing with the affairs and the state of the duchies of Athens and Neopatras, asking us for aid and succor and that we should send you our vicar or lieutenant . . . , to which [letter] we reply with the full expression of our thanks for the affection and good will which you have for us and for our crown as a loyal vassal and our natural servitor."¹⁸⁹

On September 30 the king wrote Peralta again; this time he referred to a letter he had received from Louis Fadrique. Indeed, he was by now very well informed of events in the duchies, for he had talked at length with Bernard Ballester and Francis Ferrer, who had come to Barcelona as messengers and envoys of the Catalan barons and municipalities in Greece. He was sending Ballester back to Greece as his royal ambassador, and his subjects overseas were to take care that Ballester should return to Barcelona promptly with some other suitable person "with full and sufficient authority to swear fealty and render homage and to have us for your natural lord." When this feudal formality was over and done with, Peter said that he would without fail send to Greece a "vicar with such force that you will be satisfied, and in the meantime you have the said noble Don Louis [Fadrique] of Aragon as vicar of the said duchies" He closed with a statement of the extreme displeasure which Peralta's capture and continued imprisonment had caused him.¹⁹⁰

It is small wonder that Galcerán of Peralta and Louis Fadrique had written the king of Aragon-Catalonia, urging him to give force to his ducal claims and send help to his new dominions. Even Louis's father-in-law, Matthew Cantacuzenus, wrote him from the Morea (presumably at Louis's behest), offering him some sort of assistance against the Navarrese invasion.¹⁹¹ Letters also reached Barcelona

189. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCLXXIII, p. 454. Louis Fadrique had also written the king and received a similar reply (*ibid.*).

190. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCLXXXIII, pp. 463-464; Rubió i Lluch, *Los Navarros*, doc. XVII, pp. 229-230. A similar letter of the same date (September 30, 1379) was addressed to Peralta's erstwhile opponent, Louis Fadrique (*Dipl.*, doc. CCCLXXXII, pp. 462-463), and a letter of a year later, September 10, 1380, records that "Johannes de Ortubia . . . tenet captum nobilem virum Galcerandum de Peralta qui . . . velut fidelis servitor noster eandem civitatem [Thebas] defendit . . ." (*Dipl.*, doc. CD, p. 489). The last text is addressed to the grand master Heredia, states that Urtubia was demanding large sums for Peralta's release, and directly accuses the Hospital of being implicated in the seizure of Thebes.

191. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCLXXIX, p. 460, in which Peter IV answered Matthew on September 13, 1379.

from Romeo de Bellarbre in Athens, William of Almenara and the municipality of Livadia, and the dispossessed authorities of Thebes, who had taken refuge in Salona and Livadia.¹⁹² On September 13 (1379) the king officially appointed Dalmau “our vicar, viceroy, and lieutenant in the said duchies and all the lands adjacent to them,” defining in ample detail the manifold duties of his new office.¹⁹³ Until emissaries from the duchies had sworn fealty to the king, however, and until the new vicar-general could reach Greece, Louis Fadrique was to continue to hold the vicariate. Bernard Ballester and Francis Ferrer had given a good account of Louis’s government.¹⁹⁴

It is not clear how vigorously, if at all, king Peter IV had been prepared to press his claims to Athens and Neopatras until the Navarrese invasion threw the Catalan inhabitants of the duchies into his arms. Their view was that Peter might conceivably assist them, while Maria of Sicily obviously could not, and he certainly kept the clerks in the Aragonese chancery busy issuing scores of documents relating to Greek affairs. Many of the inhabitants of Thebes, both Frankish and Greek, had taken refuge on the Venetian island of Euboea, and on October 19, 1379, the king expressed his gratitude to the Venetian officials for this kind reception given to his distraught vassals and subjects. He asked the Venetian colonial government to continue to show them its favor and to allow them freely to return to Thebes with their wives, children, and goods when the Catalans should have regained the city. Bernard Ballester was conveying the royal letter to Negroponte, and would explain further his majesty’s intentions concerning his newly acquired Greek dominions.¹⁹⁵

Toward the end of the year 1380 or early in 1381 the castle of Livadia also fell to the Navarrese, who as previously at Thebes received aid from traitors within the walls. Some of the inhabitants fled to Negroponte,¹⁹⁶ others to Salona, whose “count,” Louis

192. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCLXXXIII, p. 464, and cf. docs. CCCLXXVI, CCCLXXXII.

193. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCLXXIV, pp. 455–456, and cf. docs. CCCLXXV–CCCLXXX.

194. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCLXXXII, pp. 462–463, dated September 30, 1379; Rubió i Lluch, *Los Navarros*, doc. XVI, pp. 228–229. But in the instructions given to Ballester, who was returning to Greece as the royal ambassador, the barons and officials of the municipalities were to be asked to send the king the names of “three or four barons of his kingdom,” from whom he would choose a vicar! (*Dipl.*, doc. CCCLXXXIII, p. 464, presumably dated September 30, 1379).

195. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCLXXXIV, p. 465, and note doc. CCCLXXVIII, p. 459, dated September 13, 1379, to the doge of Venice on behalf of the refugees from Thebes. The doge is said “already to know” (*iam scitis*) that Peter IV has succeeded “by just title” to the Greek duchies. Cf., *ibid.*, doc. CCCLXXX, pp. 460–461, also dated September 13, to the baillie and captain of Negroponte.

196. *Dipl.*, doc. CDLIX, p. 527, dated April 31 [*sic*], 1381.

Fadrique, was still serving as vicar-general, although Peter IV was again writing almost everyone in sight that he had appointed Dalmau to the vicariate. William of Almenara, castellan and captain of Livadia, had been treacherously slain within the citadel, and on May 8, 1381, Peter IV granted his widow Francula custody of their three children and title to his estate as long as she remained unmarried (otherwise her mother Escarlata was to take over both the children and the property) although her rights were protected as heiress to her father's apparently extensive estate.¹⁹⁷ On the same day Peter granted his faithful subjects who had fled from the city perpetual enjoyment of all their rights, privileges, franchises, and properties under the "Usatges de Barcelona" because of the loyalty they had shown his royal house, "and expressly so when recently [*nuper*] our enemies, the Navarrese, invaded the . . . duchies, and attacked and occupied in outrageous fashion the lands and the castle of Livadia."¹⁹⁸ The loyalty of the Greek notary Constantine "de Mauro Nichola" and his father Nicholas de Mauro now won them and their posterity the full franchise in the duchies (*tanquam Catholici et Franchi*), notwithstanding the fact they were Greeks and followed the Greek schismatic rite.¹⁹⁹ At the same time James Ferrer de la Sala, a native of Barcelona, who had proved his devotion to the royal house for more than twenty years in the Greek duchies, and had lost all his property and almost his very life in the Navarrese seizure of Livadia, now received by royal decree all the serfs, houses, lands, and vineyards of the "traitorous Greek" notary Gasco of Durazzo, who had joined the Navarrese in the grim hour of Catalan need.²⁰⁰

It was all well enough for the king in distant Aragon to make these rhetorical grants to his faithful servitors in Greece, but nothing came of them. A dozen years later, in 1393, we are informed that the Gascon Bertranet Mota (or de Salahia), who is referred to as *capità del ducham de Athenes*, was in possession of the city of Livadia, which he had but recently taken.²⁰¹ Bertranet possessed the head of St. George, which in 1393 king John I of Aragon, like his father

197. *Dipl.*, doc. CDLXXVII, p. 538. Francula's father was the well-known Catalan baron Peter de Puigpardines.

198. *Dipl.*, doc. CDLXXVIII, p. 539, dated May 8, 1381.

199. *Dipl.*, doc. CDLXXIX, pp. 540-541, dated May 8, 1381.

200. *Dipl.*, doc. CDLXXX, pp. 541-542, also dated May 8, 1381. For *Rotari* in this text, read *notari* (Loenertz, *Orientalia Christiana periodica*, XXII, no. 32, p. 339).

201. *Dipl.*, doc. DCXXXVIII, p. 667, dated April 13, 1393. In a document dated July 28, 1400, Bertranet is referred to as "aquest Gascó qui era senyor dela Levadia . . ." (*Dipl.*, doc. DCLVI, p. 683). See Rubió i Lluch, *Dipl.*, pp. 666-667, note.

Peter IV some forty years before, was most anxious to acquire. St. George was patron of England, however, as well as of Catalonia, and Bertranet for a time apparently contemplated the sale of the relic to king Richard II of England.²⁰² Bertranet clearly did not regard himself as holding Livadia by warrant of the king of Aragon, nor is there any evidence that the Catalans ever regained Thebes. In any event Thebes and Livadia became Florentine possessions, and Nerio Acciajuoli left them to his son Antonio I in 1394. Since Nerio also made a bequest to Bertranet ("Baltrineto di Salai"), the connection between the latter and the Acciajuoli is obvious. Bertranet may well have been in Nerio's employ.²⁰³ By the beginning of the year 1394, however, the Turks were overrunning central Greece. They occupied Livadia. Obviously the invasion of the Navarrese Company under John de Urtubia had meant for the Catalans the permanent loss of ancient Boeotia and of Locris, and when in 1379 Peter IV of Aragon began the last decade of Catalan rule in continental Greece, he possessed little more than the capitals of the two duchies, now the city of Athens itself and Neopatras, together with some of their dependencies, and the so-called county of Salona.

202. *Dipl.*, doc. DCXXXVIII, p. 667. Before December 1399 the head of St. George would pass into the possession of Alioto de Caupena, Catalan lord of Aegina, who seems to have received it from Bertranet (*Dipl.*, docs. DCLIII–DCLV, DCLXIX, DCXCVIII).

203. For Nerio's will, see J. A. C. Buchon, *Nouvelles recherches historiques*, II (Paris, 1845), 257, 260, and Lampros, *Eggrapha*, part III, doc. 4, pp. 149, 152, and cf. Setton, *Catalan Domination*, pp. 147, 197.

V

CATALAN SOCIETY IN GREECE IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

No period in the long history of Greece was too remote or too recent to hold the interest of our late friend Basil Laourdas, who always cherished the past and worked for the future of his country. It is now nearly a quarter-century since my study *Catalan Domination of Athens, 1311-1388* was published by the Mediaeval Academy of America.¹ The almost simultaneous publication of Antoni Rubió i Lluch's *Diplomatari de l'Orient català*,² as well as the present availability of additional material, has expanded our knowledge of Catalan activities in Greece. The fantastic fact of Catalan settlement in Athens and Thebes always intrigued Basil Laourdas, and so I welcome the opportunity afforded by this volume dedicated to his memory to revise the treatment of certain parts of the *Catalan Domination*, especially the chapter on "Language and Culture, Social Conditions and Athenian Antiquities under the Catalans and Florentines," using Rubió's *Diplomatari* and other related sources.³

The Frankish lordship (later duchy) of Athens was established late in 1204 by the Fourth Crusaders under the command of Boniface of Montferrat, and was ruled by Burgundians of the de la Roche family until 1308. Their successor, Walter I de Brienne, lost the Athenian duchy and his life in the battle of the Cephissus on March 15, 1311.⁴ The victorious Catalan Grand

1. Cambridge, Mass., 1948. Variorum Revised Edition, London, 1975.

2. Barcelona, 1947; not released until April 1948 (cited hereafter as *Diplomatari*).

3. Similar revision of the political history is incorporated in my chapters on the Catalan and Florentine duchies in the forthcoming volume III of *A History of the Crusades*. It must be taken for granted in this article that the reader has some knowledge of the chief events in the fourteenth-century history of continental Greece and the Morea, such as the capture of Thebes from the Catalans in 1379 by the so-called "Navarrese Company," another band of mercenaries, for which see my *Catalan Domination* and *Los Catalanes en Grecia*, now in the course of publication by Aymá S.A. Editora, Barcelona. A Catalan edition is also being prepared of this latter book, which will not appear in English.

4. On the Burgundian period, see Jean Longnon, "The Frankish States in Greece, 1204-

Company, until then a ferociously effective band of about 6,500 homeless mercenaries whose dwindling ranks of Catalans and Aragonese had been bolstered with Turks, promptly took over the duchy – together with the widows of the French nobles they had slain – and settled down to enjoy their good fortune. In 1318-1319 they added the “duchy” of Neopatras to that of Athens.

Of the leaders of the Company prior to 1310, such as Entenza, Rocafort, Arenós, Ahonés, Corberan de Lahet, and others, small record remains after the years of the conquest. A few of its more prominent members returned to Catalonia or went to Sicily, but most of them met violent deaths in the Levant. A dozen or so noble families figure in the last decades of the Catalan history of Athens, including the Fadriques of Aragon, the most distinguished Catalan family in Greece; the Zarroviras in Salona; the Zavalls in Neopatras; the Puigpardines of Karditza and Atalandi; the Novelles, who married into a Greek archontic family; the Bellestars of Kapraina, a family known only by name; and in Athens and Thebes, the Fusters, de Llurias, de Pous (Despous), Vitas, Rodejas, and Joanes.

The rest of the two hundred or so families known from contemporary documents, many with names still common in Barcelona, were of burgher or more lowly origin. Many names found after the critical year 1379 (when the duchies of Athens and Neopatras were transferred from the Catalan Crown of Sicily to that of Aragon-Catalonia) occur also among the more than fifty notables of the Company who affixed their signatures to peace treaties with Venice in 1321 and 1331, or whom the archbishop of Patras excommunicated in 1335.⁵ These include the Almenaras, Terrades, and Estanyols of Livadia; the Ses Planes of Athens;⁶ and the Baldomers, Ballesters, Caval-

1311,” in K. M. Setton, R. L. Wolff, and H. W. Hazard, eds., *A History of the Crusades*, II (Philadelphia, 1962; 2nd ed., Madison, Wisc., 1969), 235 - 274; cf. Setton, “The Latins in Greece and the Aegean from the Fourth Crusade to the End of the Middle Ages,” in Joan M. Hussey, ed., *The Cambridge Medieval History* (rev. ed.), IV-1 (Cambridge, 1966), 408-411, and bibliography, 908-938.

5. The transcription of these names by Charles du Cange, *Histoire de l'empire de Constantinople sous les empereurs françois* (Paris, 1657; ed. J.A. Buchon, 2 vols., Paris, 1826), II, 204-205, is obviously inaccurate. Cf. Karl Hopf, “Geschichte Griechenlands vom Beginn des Mittelalters bis auf unsere Zeit,” in J.S. Ersch and J. G. Gruber, eds., *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste*, LXXXV (1867), 436.

6. William de Planis held the position of castellan and “vicarius Athenarum” in 1321 (*Diplomatari*, doc. CXVI, p. 143). He was the founder of the fortunes of the Ses Planes family, who were still deriving an income from “certain possessions and properties belonging to the castle of Athens and to its guard, defense, and custody” as late as 1372, when the king annulled their grants, since the three generations through which they were to extend had expired (*Diplomatari*, doc. CCCXXXIV, pp. 421-422, dated January 7, 1372). The revenues were thenceforth to be used for the defense of the Acropolis.

lers, Ibañezes, Ollers, Sabaters, and Vilafrancas of Thebes.⁷

Of more than fifty names of inhabitants of Athens, most of them Catalan, which Rubió i Lluch has added to the history of the city, a considerable number are revealed by the documents to have owned property there. They are the brothers Roger and John de Lluria, Galcerán de Peralta, William de Almenara, the Arnau family, William Ses Planes, and the Theban Bernard Ballester; Peter Solda, Jaime and Jaimet Conominas, Albert de' Bonacolsi of Mantua, and Romeo de Bellarbre; Berenguer Oroniola, John Conominas, and Gerard (Guerau) de Rodonella; and the Greeks Arguni, Constantine Calochini, and Demetrius Rendi.⁸ Others whose names appear frequently are Bishop John Boyl of Megara; Antonio Ballester, last Catalan archbishop of Athens (1370-1387); and its last Catalan governor, Peter de Pau (1386-1388).⁹

The Greek people, comprising the majority of the population, both urban and rural, were usually not allowed to inherit or bequeath, to sell or buy, or even to own property, unless they had acquired honorary status as Catalans, granted in return for meritorious services to the crown. Demetrius Rendi enjoyed such status, and Arguni and Calochini must also have received the franchise. We know of no single grant of Frankish citizenship made to any Greek during the whole century of Burgundian rule in Thebes and Athens (1204-1311), and of only two such grants during the Florentine period (1388-1456). Of these, the first was to Maria Rendi, daughter of Demetrius and mistress of Nerio Acciajuoli, the first Florentine duke of Athens. The second such grant went to one Gregory Camaches, who in 1431 secured for himself and his heirs a farm (χωράφιον), apparently in Attica, on perpetual lease for the annual payment of sixteen *solidi* (σολδία) at the feast of the Assumption on August 15.¹⁰ In 1437 Duke Nerio II Acciajuoli renewed Camaches' "privilege of franchise" (ἐν περιβιλέγιον φραγγιτάδες), which had been lost, and the text of the confirmation recalls the wording of the earlier Catalan grants of franchise, with which the Greeks in Attica and Boeotia had obviously become familiar.¹¹ The Florentines doubtless granted the franchise to other persons

7. Rubió i Lluch, "La Grècia catalana des de la mort de Frederic III fins a la invasió navarresa (1377-1379)," *Anuari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans*, VI (1915-1920), 147, 162-163; cf. his *Homenaje a D. Carmelo de Echegaray* (San Sebastian, 1928), p. 365, and his *La Població de la Grècia catalana en el XIV^{en} segle* (Barcelona, 1933), pp. 8-9, 35 ff.

8. Rubió i Lluch, "Une Figure athénienne de l'époque de la domination catalane: Dimitri Rendi," *Byzantion*, II (1925-1926), 217; Greek translation by G. N. Mavrikis in *Deltion*, new series, I (1928), 110-111.

9. Rubió i Lluch, *Los Catalanes en Grecia* (Madrid, 1927), pp. 192-194.

10. J.A.C. Buchon, *Nouvelles Recherches historiques sur la principauté française de Morée et ses hautes baronnies*, II (Paris, 1845), *Florence*, doc. LXIX, pp. 290-291.

11. Buchon, *Nouvelles Recherches historiques*, II, *Florence*, doc. LXXI, pp. 296-297.

than Maria Rendi and Gregory Camaches, but these seem to be the only two of whom we have record. On the other hand, ten or a dozen Greeks who received the Catalan franchise are known from the extant documents relating to Catalan rule in the Athenian duchy.

There were thus during the Catalan era various exceptions to the harsh restrictions which the Catalans, like the Burgundians before them, laid upon the conquered Greeks; shortly after the victory of the Cephissus, to cite the most notable instance, when certain inhabitants of Livadia opened their gates to the Catalans, the Company granted them the franchise with most of the rights and privileges that pertained thereto;¹² and because of the firm adherence of the citizens of Livadia to the Crown of Aragon, two generations later, and their courageous resistance to the invading Navarrese, King Peter IV granted them the right "to follow and enjoy, all and singly, the franchises, privileges, liberties, and customs, uses, constitutions, and the usages of Barcelona, and any other articles promulgated and granted to you by our predecessors, dukes of the aforesaid duchies."¹³ The loyalty of the Greek notaries Constantine de Mauro-Nichola and his father Nicholas de Mauro won them and their posterity the full franchise in the duchies (*tanquam Catholici et Franchi*), notwithstanding the fact they were Greeks and followed the Greek rite. The king further rewarded Constantine and his heirs in perpetuity with the public notariate (*scribania*) of Livadia with all the rights and emoluments

12. A half century later a letter patent of Frederick III of Sicily, then Catalan duke of Athens, recalled the events at Livadia in 1311 "... cum a tempore adquisicionis et recuperacionis castri dicte terre Livadie, acquisiti per felicem societatem Francorum nostrorum fidelium, certeque persone alie, que tunc in dicti castri fortificio morabantur et se dicte societati spontaneo tradiderint ac castrum predictum cum rebus omnibus in eo sistentibus assignaverunt eisdem, fuerint in Francorum numero aggregati ... ita quod persone ipse eorumque filii et heredes ac successores semper et omni tempore ... pro Francis et tamquam Franci haberentur et etiam tractarentur ..." (*Diplomatari*, doc. CCLXVIII, pp. 352-353, where the letter is misdated 1366; R. J. Loenertz, "Athènes et Néopatras: Regestes et notices pour servir à l'histoire des duchés catalans (1311-1394)," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, XXV [1955], 117, no. 63, and especially pp. 194, 199-200). The document should be dated July 29, 1362. It could not have been issued at Messina, as David Jacoby inadvertently states (following Rubió i Lluch in the *Diplomatari*), "La 'Compagnie catalane' et l'état catalan de Grèce," *Journal des Savants*, 1966, p. 88, since the Neapolitans held Messina from November 1356 to May 1364, during which time Frederick III never entered the city (Setton, "Archbishop Pierre d'Ameil in Naples," *Speculum*, XXVIII [1953], 644-645, and cf. Loenertz, *op. cit.*, pp. 199-201).

13. Rubió i Lluch, *Los Navarros en Grecia* (Barcelona, 1886), doc. XLIV, pp. 263-264, dated May 8, 1381; *Diplomatari*, doc. CDLXXVIII, p. 539, where by an error of the typesetter part of this passage has fallen from the text; *Byzantion*, II (1925-1926), 214; *La Població de la Grècia catalana* (1933), pp. 26-27.

thereto appertaining.¹⁴ At the same time James Ferrer de la Sala, a native of Barcelona, who had proved his devotion to the royal house for more than twenty years in the Greek duchies, and had lost all his property and almost his very life in the Navarrese seizure of Livadia, received by royal decree all the serfs, houses, lands, and vineyards of the "traitorous Greek" notary Gasco of Durazzo, who had joined the Navarrese in the grim hour of Catalan need.¹⁵

Demetrius Rendi, too, was entitled to own serfs. On April 10, 1383, after the loss of Thebes, the king granted him not only two families of Greek villeins, together with their property, which the late William de Almenara had possessed in Athens, but also the Theban villeins, houses, lands, vineyards, and other property which had belonged to one Peter Ibañez (*Divanyes*), and which Rendi would acquire "if and when the city and district of Thebes should chance to come back to our dominion and obedience."¹⁶ With roots in his native soil Demetrius Rendi doubtless felt that he could survive the Catalan loss of Athens, if it should occur, better than the intruders from the Aragonese kingdoms. He was anxious to get what he could and he was lucky: he had escaped the plague of 1381-1382, which had taken lives from Pera to the Morea.¹⁷

There is no question of the almost absolute line of cleavage that separated the conquered Greek, except for some favored individuals, from the conqueror Catalan. The Catalans, as King Peter IV reminded them in his reply to one of the "Articles of Athens," discussed below, were few in comparison with the Greeks in Boeotia and Attica. Rubió i Lluch hazards the guess that a third of the population of the city of Athens in the decade of the 1370's was Catalan,¹⁸ and the same may have been true of other places, but the rural population was overwhelmingly Greek. Thebes was the administrative center of the Athenian duchy, and probably had a higher percentage of Catalan inhabitants.

14. *Diplomatari*, docs. CDLXXIX, CDLXXXI, pp. 540-541, 542-543, dated May 8, 1381.

15. *Diplomatari*, doc. CDLXXX, pp. 541-542, also dated May 8, 1381: "possessiones et jura notari Gasco de Duraix greci proditoris nostri." For *Rotari* in this text, *notari* has been substituted, following Loenertz, "Hospitaliers et Navarrais en Grèce (1376-1383): Regestes et documents," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, XXII (1956), no. 32, p. 339.

16. *Dipl.*, doc. DXLIII, p. 592: "... si et quando civitas et vicaria Destives ad dominium et obedientiam nostram venire contingat" The use of the word *vicaria* is odd in this context; perhaps it should be translated as *vigeriate*.

17. See Loenertz, "La Chronique brève moréote de 1423," *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, II-1 (Vatican City, 1964), 418.

18. Rubió i Lluch, "La Grècia catalana des de la mort de Roger de Llúria fins a la de Frederic III de Sicília (1370-1377)," *Anuari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans*, V (1913-1914), 424.

While it is not possible accurately to determine the population of Catalan Athens, a reasonable estimate would range from nine to eleven thousand persons, of whom perhaps fewer than three thousand were Catalan. Rubió has estimated that the total number of Catalans, spread over the whole of Attica and Boeotia, did not exceed five or six thousand persons, "of all ages and conditions."¹⁹ As for the Greek population of the countryside, there is no way at all to determine their numbers, but they were not sufficient for King Peter IV, who appears to have offered an exemption for two years from imposts, corvées, and the like to any Greek or Albanian who chose to settle in the duchy of Athens.²⁰

Albanians had become increasingly numerous and important in Greece, especially in Thessaly, from about 1320 on. The Venetian publicist Marino Sanudo, in a famous letter, informs us that in 1325 the Catalan vicar-general, Don Alfonso Fadrique, formed an alliance with the Byzantines in a futile effort to expel the Albanians from Thessaly, which he had conquered in 1318-1319.²¹ Thereafter the Catalans learned to live reasonably peacefully with their new neighbors, just as the Venetians had had to learn to live with the Catalans themselves when they took over the duchy of Athens. They occasionally joined forces militarily,²² and individual Albanians served as mercenaries under Catalan commanders. One "Count Dimitri," whose domain apparently was in southeastern Thessaly, had 1,500 horsemen in his service, and bore the royal banner of Aragon-Catalonia as a loyal vassal of King Peter IV.²³ In April 1381 the king had occasion to thank, for services against the Navarrese two years before, not only Count Dimitri but also "all the other Albanians" dwelling in Thessaly.²⁴ It was the destruction and depopulation caused

19. Rubió i Lluch, *loc. cit.*

20. *Dipl.*, doc. DXXXVI, p. 587, dated December 31, 1382: "... a nos es estat suplicat que volguessem atorgar a tot Grech e Albanés qui vulla venir en lo ducat de Athenes que sia franch per ii anys...;" Rubió i Lluch, *Los Navarros en Grecia* (1886), doc. XXX, p. 240.

21. Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Epistula III*, in Jacques Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos* (2 vols. in 1; Hanover, 1611), II, 291; *Diplomatari*, doc. CXXIX, pp. 160-161.

22. For the attack in 1350 on the Venetian trading station of Pteleum, at the entrance to the Gulf of Volos, see Setton, *Catalan Domination*, p. 254, and Rubió i Lluch, "Els Governes de Matheu de Moncada i Roger de Llúria en la Grècia catalana (1359 - 1370)," *Anuari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans*, IV (1911-1912), 20, and *La Població de la Grècia catalana* (1933), pp. 19-20, where *Dipl.*, doc. CXCV, p. 253, is cited. The Venetians held Pteleum until 1470, when Negroponte fell to the Ottoman Turks.

23. *Dipl.*, doc. CDLXXXIX, p. 548, properly dated about May 1380: "... e aquest porta la bandera de la vostra reyal majestat perque es natural vasall." Cf. Loenertz, *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, XXV (1955), no. 164, p. 142.

24. *Dipl.*, doc. CDLXI, p. 528; Rubió i Lluch, *Los Navarros en Grecia* (1886), doc. VI, p. 220.

by the Navarrese that led the king to offer exemptions as inducements to new settlers, whether Greek or Albanian.²⁵

Insofar as conquest means the acquisition of the property of others, it is profitable, and the Catalans obviously found it so. Although agreements with Venice in 1319, 1321, and 1331 prevented the effective use of the harbor at Piraeus, the extant documents reveal a fair amount of trade in the Catalan states in Greece. In one way or another some residents of Athens accumulated capital. In 1346 one Berenguer de Puigvert loaned Marco Soranzo, the Venetian bailie of Negroponte, the large sum of 9,000 *hyperperi* to help him meet the financial responsibilities of his office at a time when the Republic was said to be laboring under an especially heavy burden of expense.²⁶ But mismanagement and internecine strife during the ducal reign of King Frederick III of Sicily (1355-1377) ruined what prosperity there had been in Attica and Boeotia. In the "Articles of Athens," composed in the ancient city in May 1380 and acted upon by King Peter IV at Lérida the following September, the Catalans themselves emphasized the poverty in which one then led his life at the foot of the Acropolis.²⁷ In rejecting the Catalans' plea to be allowed to leave property to the Church, Peter IV reminded his petitioners that the duchies would soon find themselves in a sorry state if he were to grant their request, "forasmuch as our people there [in Greece] are few ..., if those few who are there should leave their possessions to the Church, there would be no one to defend the duchies, for ecclesiastics are not soldiers, and they are not under the jurisdiction of the lord king ...".²⁸

Under these circumstances, survival was possible only by maintaining the unity and ethnic integrity of the Company. Catholic women were forbidden to marry Greeks – except the few granted the Catalan franchise – by an article in the Company's statutes, unfortunately lost.²⁹ Naturally, especially

25. See, in addition to the sources cited above, Ferdinand Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Athen in Mittelalter...*, trans. and ed. by Sp. P. Lampros (2 vols., Athens, 1904), II, 204-205; William Miller, *The Latins in the Levant* (London, 1908), p. 317; Lluís Nicolau d'Oliver, *L'Expansió de Catalunya en la Mediterrània oriental* (Barcelona, 1926), pp. 137-138; and Rubió i Lluch, *La Població de la Grècia catalana* (1933), p. 22.

26. *Dipl.*, doc. CXC, pp. 247-248.

27. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCXCI, p. 473: "... pobretat ... del poble daquela [i.e., dela universitat de Cetines] ...;" *Los Navarros en Grecia* (1886), doc. XXXII, p. 242.

28. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCXCI, p. 477; *Los Navarros en Grecia* (1886), doc. XXXII, p. 248.

29. *Dipl.*, doc. CCLXVIII, p. 353, properly dated July 29, 1362: "... non obstante quod in capitulis editis per dictam societatem Francorum inter alia contineatur quod nulla de catholicis christianis detur in uxorem alicui Greco vel qui fuerit Grecus sub certa pena in capitulo ipso contenta" (The document is a grant of the full franchise, including right of Frankish marriage, to Nicholas de Mauro-Nichola of Livadia, for himself and his sons and daughters).

during the first decades when Catholic women were in short supply, Catalan men of all ranks married Greek women, with the children raised as Catholics. Among the more notable of such marriages is that of Odo de Novelles, marshal of the Catalan Company (1331-1335), whose wife was the sister of Missilino, the Greek archon of Castri and Liconia.³⁰ Peter de Puigpardines, lord of Karditza and Atalandi, married a Greek woman named Escarlata (Carolina); Don Luis Fadrique, count of Salona, married the Greek princess Helena Cantacuzena; Berenguer of Thebes married a certain Amendula, possibly a Greek (mentioned in a document dated June 9, 1334);³¹ Peter Estanyol of Livadia married a Greek woman named Anna (subject of a document dated May 28, 1367);³² and Romeo de Bellarbre, castellan of Athens, finally married his Greek mistress Zoe of Megara, for whom he secured generous treatment from the Aragonese king, as we shall see below. A certain Michael of Thebes (Michel Destiva), apparently a Greek, was captured, together with his wife, by a Valencian galley while they were on their way from Sicily to the Holy Land in 1351: King Peter IV ordered their release on the grounds that they were "Franks and free."³³

The inference to be drawn from this royal order – that Greeks not granted the Catalan franchise were subject to capture and enslavement – is correct. The Catalans, throughout the later middle ages, and often with Turkish co-operation, were notoriously active as pirates and slave-raiders, harrying the coastal districts of continental Greece, the Morea, and the islands. Catalan Thebes was a center of the slave trade in the fourteenth century, and there

Cf. Lampros, "Εγγραφα ἀναφερόμενα εἰς τὴν μεσαιωνικὴν Ἱστορίαν τῶν Ἀθηναίων (cited hereafter as *Eggrapha*; published as vol. 3 of his translation of Gregorovius; Athens, 1906), part IV, doc. 91, p. 338. See also, *Dipl.*, doc. CCLXIX, pp. 353-354, properly dated 1362, for an analogous grant to Demetrius Rendi, and doc. CDLXXIX, pp. 540-541, for another grant to the Mauro-Nichola family.

30. Missilino may have been the grandfather of Missili de Novelles, who in 1380 was "senyor del castell den Estanyol" (*Dipl.*, doc. CDLXXXIX, p. 548), but who En (i.e., Don) Estanyol was and where his castle stood are unknown (Loenertz, *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, XXV, 186-187). Hopf, *op. cit.*, LXXXV, 315 and 422, and *Chroniques gréco-romaines* (Berlin, 1873), p. 536, table 3, believed the name Missilino was a garbling of Melissenus, whence he drew conclusions challenged by Loenertz, *op. cit.*, pp. 184-185.

31. *Dipl.*, doc. CLX, p. 210; Lampros, *Eggrapha*, part IV, doc. 102, p. 351.

32. *Dipl.*, doc. CCXCII, pp. 380-381; Lampros, *Eggrapha*, part IV, doc. 31, pp. 271-272.

33. *Dipl.*, doc. CCI, p. 259: "cum ... constet ipsum Michaellem [Destiva] et uxorem suam tempore dicte captionis et antea fore franchos et liberos et non servos alicuius" Cf. Rubió i Lluch, *La Població de la Grècia catalana* (1933), pp. 26, 56, and "Mitteilungen zur Geschichte der griechischen Sklaven in Katalonien im XIV. Jahrhundert," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXX (1929-1930), 464.

were many Greek slaves in Catalonia.³⁴ Marino Sanudo describes the menace of these early Catalan-Turkish raids³⁵ and the unsuccessful efforts to control them.³⁶ Almost sixty years later, in 1382, Greek captives in Tortosa success-

34. J. Miret y Sans, "La Esclavitud en Cataluña en los últimos tiempos de la edad media," *Revue hispanique*, XLI (1917), especially pp. 17-25, a valuable article; Rubió i Lluch, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXX (1929-1930), 462-468; and note in general Charles Verlinden, "Esclaves du Sud-Est et de l'Est européen en Espagne orientale à la fin du moyen âge," *Revue historique du Sud-Est européen*, XIX (1942), 371-406. As Kaffa on the Black Sea was a center of the Genoese slave trade, so Tana on the Sea of Azov supplied quantities of slaves to Venetian merchants (cf. Verlinden, "La Colonie vénitienne de Tana, centre de la traite des esclaves au XIV^e et au début du XV^e siècle," *Studi in onore di Gino Luzzatto*, II [Milan, 1950], 1-25). See also the excellent article by Verlinden, "La Crète, débouché et plaque tournante de la traite des esclaves aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles," *Studi in onore di Amintore Fanfani*, III (Milan, 1962), 591-669, especially pp. 621-629, 665, 667, 668, with some attention to Thebes and various "sclavi conducti de societate Catellanorum." On October 1, 1322, Pope John XXII wrote the Latin Patriarch Nicholas and Archbishop William Frangipani, excoriating Catalan piracy as outrageous, especially as sometimes these scoundrels sold their Christian captives as slaves to the Turks (... *avaricie cecitate seducti, Christicolos ipsos venales Turchis infidelibus exponentes, precio vendunt dampnabili*...). The patriarch and the archbishop were to make the Grand Company call a halt to their criminal activity by the application of ecclesiastical censure (*Dipl.*, doc. CXX, pp. 148-149, misdated by Rubió i Lluch). So far, it must be admitted, this had proved a rather inefficacious weapon. Catalan piracy was incessant among the islands of the Archipelago (cf. *Dipl.*, docs. XCVI, C-CII); see W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen âge*, trans. by Furcy Raynaud, I (Leipzig, 1885; repr. 1967), 538. On June 26, 1318, the bailie of Negroponte wrote the doge at length of Catalan piracy, and declared that he knew of at least two armed ships in Piraeus, which were about to transport two Catalan envoys to the Byzantine court and two others to the emirs of Asia Minor, "in Turchiam" (*Dipl.*, doc. XCVIII, pp. 117-119).

35. Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Epistula XVI* (written in 1326), in Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, II, 307: "... scripsi seriatim periculum quod incumbit terris et insulis subiectis principatui Amoreae tam per Turchos quam per illos de Compagna, qui tenent ducatum Athenarum" Sanudo's reference is obviously to the Turks of the Anatolian emirates, of whom he writes in *Ep. XVII* (1327), in Bongars, II, 309: "Turchi etiam, pessimi Saraceni, qui morantur in Minori Asia, infestant valde insulas Romaniae, et maxime insulas quae pertinent ad principatum Achaiae." Note also *Ep. V* (1326), in Bongars, II, 298, in which Sanudo also dilates on the danger presented to the islands by the Turks and Catalans, against whom Venetian Negroponte needed especial protection. Sanudo alludes to the Turkish problem a number of times, and incidentally laments the Hospitallers' traffic with Christian pirates on the island of Rhodes (*Ep. XXI*, in Bongars, II, 314, dated February 15, 1329).

36. Marino Sanudo, *Epistula XXI*, in Bongars, II, 314; also in *Dipl.*, doc. CXLIV, pp. 175-176, dated February 15, 1329. Archbishop Isnard Tacconi of Thebes, a man says Sanudo of *sapientia et probitas*, had been active in Venice in 1329, attempting on papal instructions to secure large-scale assistance against the Turks (also Sanudo, *Ep. XX*, in Bongars, II, 313), who were raiding in the Archipelago, and had attacked the island of Euboea three times and the duchy of Athens once; to death and destruction the Turks added the capture of young men, whom they sold into slavery in Asia Minor (Sanudo, *Ep. XXIII*, in Bongars, II, 315-

fully petitioned King Peter IV to make various slave owners in that port obey Pope Urban V's constitution freeing slaves after seven years of servitude, as confirmed by the king for his maritime cities.³⁷ The threat posed by Catalan and Turkish piracy and slave-raiding would continue to exacerbate relations with other Christian states long after the fall of the Catalan duchies.³⁸

Even when the ordinary Greek escaped enslavement, his life under Catalan rule was harsh. Just as the peasant in Attica or Boeotia was bound to the glebe, so was his urban counterpart – merchant, artisan, or clerk – excluded from the full franchise, and severely restricted in the acquisition and selling of real property or movable goods. If his life was easier than that of his unhappy fellow in the fields, he still lived under grievous restraints, as did his Orthodox Church. A few Greeks were used by the Franks as notaries, as we have seen: Nicholas de Mauro and Constantine de Mauro-Nichola, son and grandson respectively of a Greek native of Livadia who had received the Catalan franchise in 1311;³⁹ Cosmas of Durazzo at Salona, where the countess too was Greek;⁴⁰ and in Athens Demetrius Rendi and Nicholas Macri, both of whom became municipal chancellors.⁴¹ The notariate, however, was the only public office to which as a rule Greeks could aspire, not only under the three Latin regimes in Athens,⁴² but under any Latin state in Greece and the islands.

During the Catalan era Greek notaries composed official documents in Catalan and Latin. On one occasion, for example, and it must have been typical – although so few are the extant documents drafted in Athens that no other instance can be cited – a Greek notary, Constantine de Mauro-Nichola,

316; *Dipl.*, doc. CXLIX, p. 189, dated October 28, 1329). On Isnard Tacconi, see Loenertz, "Athènes et Néopatras: Regestes et documents pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique des duchés catalans (1311-1395)," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, XXVIII (1958), especially nos. 23, 26, 28, 29, 32-37, 42, pp. 35-39.

37. *Dipl.*, doc. DXXXV, p. 586; cf. Rubió i Lluch, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXX (1929-1930), 466.

38. See Setton, *Catalan Domination*, pp. 212-215.

39. *Dipl.*, doc. CCLXVIII, pp. 352-353, properly dated 1362, and docs. CCCXCIII, CDLXXIX, pp. 484, 540-541, dated 1380-1381.

40. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCXCII, pp. 480-481, dated September 1, 1380: "... la carta ... escrita per ma e autoritat den Cosma de Duraix, notari publicch quondam"

41. On November 4, 1386, Nicholas Macri prepared a public instrument at Athens by virtue of his position as "notharius publicus in ... ducatus Athenarum et de la Patria et per totam jurisdictionem ... domini regis in partibus Romanie" (cited in *Dipl.*, doc. DCII, p. 638, dated March 18, 1387). The last known notary and chancellor of Athens in the Florentine period was also a Greek, Nicholas Chalcomatas.

42. From the scanty records of the Burgundian century in Athens (1204-1311), the name of no Greek notary is known.

attested with a notarial certification in Catalan a document written entirely in Latin.⁴³ In the fourteenth century Catalan was almost as widely known in the Mediterranean as Italian. In Constantinople in the time of John Cantacuzenus there were numerous Greeks who knew Catalan.⁴⁴ In Athens, however, the masses of Greek peasants, fishermen, tradesmen, artisans, and the like, naturally learned very little Catalan, if any, and for that matter very little French and Italian, and later not very much Turkish, despite four hundred years of Turkish rule.⁴⁵ The use of the Catalan vernacular in the ducal chancery of Athens and Neopatras is very interesting, and the documents of the Sicilian period, always in Latin, bear witness to it. Thus, a document from the Sicilian royal chancery, dated April 6, 1368, refers to the statutes of the Company which had been promulgated, years before, in the Catalan vernacular.⁴⁶ Another document, dated January 7, 1372, refers to a grant contained "in a letter, written on paper and in the Catalan language, according to the usage and custom of the city of Athens."⁴⁷ Except for Latin preamble and conclusion,

43. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCXCIII, p. 484, dated at Lérida on September 1, 1380, containing the transcript of a document dated at Messina on November 20, 1330. The transcript was made by the Catalan notary Periulli de Ripoll of Salona, "que l dit privilegi feelment fiu transladar," and was certified as correct on April 22, 1380, by his Greek colleague, "... Constantinus de Mauro Nicola per auctoritat del senyor vicari en los ducats de Athenes e de la Patria notari public ...," on which cf. Rubió i Lluch, *Los Navarros en Grecia* (1886), p. 78, note 2; *Catalunya a Grecia* (1906), p. 78; and *Byzantion*, II (1925-1926), 222.

44. Rubió i Lluch, *Anuari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans*, V (1913-1914), 433. On the Catalans in Constantinople, see Francesco Cerone, "La Politica orientale di Alfonso di Aragona," *Archivio storico per le province napoletane*, XXVII (1902), 621 ff., and cf. Anthony Luttrell, "John Cantacuzenus and the Catalans at Constantinople," in *Martínez Ferrando, Archivero: Miscelánea de estudios dedicados a su memoria* (1968), pp. 265-277.

45. See Rubió i Lluch, *Los Navarros en Grecia* (1886), pp. 77-78, 84-85; "La Lengua y la cultura catalanas en Grecia en el siglo XIV," *Homenaje a Menéndez y Pelayo*, II (Madrid, 1899), 99-104; *Catalunya a Grecia* (Barcelona, 1906), pp. 76-82; *Byzantion*, II (1925-1926), 221-222; and *Deltion*, new series, I (1928), 117-119. On the names for Athens in the Catalan era, see Setton, *Catalan Domination*, pp. 244-245.

46. *Dipl.*, doc. CCXCVIII, p. 386; Lampros, *Eggrapha*, part IV, doc. 14, p. 247: "... prout in quodam capitulo per dictos precessores nostros in vulgari sermone, Catalano ydyomate, constituto hec inter alia continentur" Cf. Rubió i Lluch, *Homenaje a Menéndez y Pelayo*, II (1899), 99, and *Catalunya a Grecia* (1906), p. 75. Rubió believed that the original *Capítols de la Companya* are being cited verbatim in the Articles of Athens in those sections which relate to the prohibition of gifts or bequests to the Athenian Church (*Dipl.*, doc. CCCXCI, pp. 476-477).

47. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCXXXV, p. 423; Lampros, *Eggrapha*, part IV, doc. 30, p. 271; Rubió i Lluch, *Byzantis*, II (1911-1912), 327-328; cf. his *Homenaje a Menéndez y Pelayo* II (1899), 100; *Catalunya a Grecia* (1906), p. 75: "... in carta ... de pappiro et vulgari Catalanorum eloquio secundum usum et mores civitatis eiusdem ...;" and *Anuari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans*, V (1913-1914), 431-433.

both the Articles of Athens and the Articles of Salona are written in Catalan. Extant communications from King Peter IV and his son Don John I, in the last years of Catalan domination in Greece, not only to officials, individuals, or municipalities in the duchies of Athens and Neopatras but to various dignitaries in the Morea and continental Greece, also are written more often in Catalan than in Latin.

As for the spoken tongue, one of the results of the victory on the Cephissus in 1311 was of course the replacement of the *lingua franca* by the *llengua catalana*, a language still spoken by several million people in Catalonia, in Roussillon and Andorra, in Valencia and the Baleares, and in the town of Alghero in Sardinia, the last curious relic of Catalan expansion into the Mediterranean.⁴⁸ Unlike the Burgundian dukes of Athens, who sometimes used vulgar Greek as well as French and Latin, and the Florentine Acciajuoli, who made frequent use of Greek, the Catalans in the Athenian duchy, especially after they joined the Crown of Aragon about 1379, composed most of their documents, of whatever character, in Catalan, the *bell catalanesch* of Ramón Muntaner. Catalan was thus, together with Latin, the official language of the duchies of Athens and Neopatras: indeed, from the twelfth-century union of the county of Barcelona and the kingdom of Aragon (1137), Catalan had been the language of the Aragonese royal court, the native speech of the kings of the house of Barcelona. Under King James I of Aragon (1213-1276), the founder of Catalan prose and author of the remarkable chronicle *Llibre dels feyts del rey En Jacme*, and his successor Peter III, Catalan became an official language of the confederation of Aragonese kingdoms,⁴⁹ whose cultural achievements and constitutional developments are among the most interesting and important in Europe. Considering the widespread use of the vernacular languages for official purposes throughout most of western Europe by the middle of the fourteenth century – even in relatively backward England French had displaced Latin and itself been displaced by English by the later 1360's – it seems odd, at first, to find that all the documents relating to Athens drafted in the Sicilian chancery throughout the reign of King Frederick III (1355-1377), and preserved today in the Archives of Palermo, are written, without

48. Rubió i Lluch, *Homenaje a Menéndez y Pelayo* (1899), II, 68-102, "La Llengua catalana a Grècia," *Primer Congrés Internacional de la llengua catalana [1906]* (Barcelona, 1908), pp. 325-348, and *Anuari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans*, V (1913-1914), 431-433; cf. his *Los Catalanes en Grecia* (1927), pp. 24 ff., and "Per què donem el nom de Catalana a la dominació de la Corona d'Aragó a Grècia," *Estudis Universitaris Catalans*, XII (Barcelona, 1927), 1-12.

49. See Miss E. S. Procter, "The Castilian Chancery during the Reign of Alfonso X," *Oxford Essays in Medieval History Presented to Herbert Edward Salter* (Oxford, 1934), pp. 105-106.

exception, in Latin; but the Catalan-Aragonese kingdom of Sicily, with its peculiarly close relations with Aragon and Catalonia, the Avignonese papacy, Angevin Naples, native factions in Sicily, and the republics of Genoa and Venice, as well as the ducal dominions beyond the sea in Athens and Neopatra, was obliged to employ Latin to avoid the babel of vernacular tongues that would have driven chancery clerks to despair and required the too frequent translation of too many documents for the benefit of the king and his advisers. When the Greek duchies were annexed to the Crown of Aragon, however, there begins in 1379 that long series of almost 250 documents, mostly in Catalan, which Rubió i Lluch has transcribed and published for us from the royal Archives in Barcelona. Time and the Turk have dealt very harshly with the written as well as with the monumental remains of Catalan Greece: only half a dozen or so documents have reached us which were composed in the Athenian chancery during the Catalan period, and half of them are, it is true, in Latin, but by far the longest and most important of them, the Articles of Athens, is, except for the customary Latin preamble and conclusion, written in Catalan.⁵⁰

Of the men who wrote these documents, the chancellors, notaries, and clerks of the Athenian duchy, a good deal is known. From the days of the chronicler Muntaner, who had himself been chancellor of the Company at Gallipoli,⁵¹ the office of chancellor was of course, as everywhere in Europe, an honorable one. He was the guardian of the Company's seal, which bore the effigy of St. George. After Muntaner the first chancellor of whom record survives is James de Sarrià (1312-1314).⁵² In October 1316 the Sicilian notary Peter de Ardoino was appointed chancellor "of the fortunate Army of the Franks in the duchy of Athens;"⁵³ and one William Bassada appears as chancellor of the Company five years later, when on May 11, 1321, the Catalans renewed their truce with the Venetians of Negroponte.⁵⁴ There is, thereafter,

50. This paragraph has been taken almost verbatim from the *Catalan Domination*, pp. 216-217.

51. Cf. Ramón Muntaner, *Crònica*, chap. 225, ed. K. Lanz (Stuttgart, 1844), pp. 396-397, and ed. Enric Bagué (9 vols. in 2; Barcelona, 1927-1952): "E yo era canceller e mestre racional de la host, e los escrivans tots aquells de la host estaven tostemps ab mi ..."

52. *Dipl.*, docs. LXX, LXXI, LXXXIII, pp. 89, 103, and Rubió i Lluch, "Chanceliers et notaires dans la Grèce catalane," in the dedicatory volume *To the Memory of Spyridon Lampros* (in Greek; Athens, 1935), p. 153.

53. *Dipl.*, docs. LXXXIII, LXXXIV, pp. 103-104; Lampros, *Eggrapha*, part IV, docs. 103-104, pp. 354-356.

54. *Dipl.*, doc. CXVI, p. 143: "... Guielmus Bassada cancellarius ...," and cf. Count de Mas Latrie, "Commerce et expéditions militaires," *Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France: Mélanges historiques*, III (Paris, 1880), doc. XI, p. 53.

a gap of more than forty years in our knowledge of who held the chancellorship, although presumably there must have been a more or less unbroken series of chancellors, who presided over the record offices in Thebes (and Athens) and who had charge of local documents as well as correspondence with the royal chancery in Sicily. Documents drafted at the royal chancery in Messina, on May 18, 1367, mention a certain Valenti Ferran, or Valentino Ferrando, as attaching the seal of St. George, on January 2, 1366 (i.e. 1367), to the important "Articles of Thebes" in his capacity of chancellor of the "fortunate Company of the Franks."⁵⁵ As duke of Athens and Neopatras, King Frederick III of Sicily recognized as proper the use of the seal of St. George by any one of the five municipalities on the royal domain in Greece, but he apparently objected to its employment as a symbol of the right of the Catalan Company as a whole to take action independently of the Crown.⁵⁶

We find recorded in extant documents the names of at least four notaries from Thebes: the Catalans Bernat Oller (mentioned in the Venetian truce of 1321) and William de Sengler (appointed on November 19, 1366) and the Sicilians Francis de Cremona, a well-known figure in the Athenian duchy (1366-1375), and Matthew de Juvenio, appointed after Francis de Cremona's death (April 2, 1375).⁵⁷ The only notaries known from Livadia are the Greeks already mentioned. At Salona, in addition to the Greek Cosmas of Durazzo, there was the Catalan Periulli de Ripoll in 1380.⁵⁸ At Athens we know of a certain John Seraio, a notary or clerk of the municipal court,⁵⁹ and Peter Balter, for whom, in the Articles of Athens in 1380, King Peter IV made provision from the scribal fees of the Athenian duchy.⁶⁰

Various aspects of the social and economic history of the Catalan regime

55. *Dipl.*, docs. CCLXXXIX, CCXC, pp. 374, 377; Lampros, *Eggrapha*, part IV, no. 20, p. 256: "... notum fieri volumus [i.e. nostra majestas] universis tam presentibus quam futuris quod universitates hominum civitatum, terrarum et locorum dictorum nostrorum ducatum Athenarum et Neopatrie fidelium nostrorum per earum capitula data Thebis sub sigillo beati Georgi quo ipse universitates utuntur per Valentinum Ferrandi felicitis societatis Francorum ibi degentis cancellarium ... nostre supplicaverunt humiliter majestati ...". Cf. *Dipl.*, doc. CCLXVIII, p. 353; Lampros, *Eggrapha*, part IV, no. 91, p. 337; *et alibi*.

56. See in general Jacoby, *Journal des Savants*, 1966, especially pp. 99-102. The duchies of Athens and Neopatras had been subject to the Catalan-Sicilian Crown since 1312.

57. *Dipl.*, docs. CXVI, CCLXX, CCLXXXIV, CCCXLIX, pp. 143, 354-355, 368, 435-436, *et alibi*.

58. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCXCIII, p. 484.

59. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCXXXV, p. 423, dated January 7, 1372: "notarius actorum curie civitatis."

60. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCXCI, p. 476.

in Greece are illuminated by the legal documents which these notaries and their colleagues prepared. For example, an interesting notarial record dated at Majorca on April 13, 1361, supplies a glimpse into the activities of Don Matthew de Moncada while he was vicar-general of the Catalan duchies in Greece. The document contains three dispatches from Don Matthew to the Aragonese governor of the kingdom of Majorca. One dispatch is written in Latin and dated at Thebes on February 12, 1361; it shows that the voyage from Greece to the Balearic Isles could be made in two months. Don Matthew requests the governor to initiate action against a certain Anthony George of Majorca. The vicar-general and others had entrusted money and other things to Anthony George, whose suspicious departure from the Theban port of Livadostro had led to the belief that the money and goods had been accepted in bad faith. The two other dispatches, written in Catalan and dated (also at Thebes) on December 28, 1360, ask that the governor and officials of Majorca see to the payment for or restitution of two Greek slaves acquired in Thebes by merchants making the return voyage on the "Santa Maria" (by which Don Matthew had just arrived from Sicily), for some misunderstanding had attended the purchase; and finally, the governor is informed of the fact that merchants, taking refuge from wind and sea in Livadostro, had unloaded there part of their cargo which they were required by a Venetian bill of lading to discharge only in territory under Aragonese jurisdiction, but between the jurisdictions of the kings of Aragon and Sicily, both members of the same royal house, the vicar-general could see no difference, and the governor of Majorca was asked to make appropriate explanations to the Venetians.⁶¹

In February 1361 Don Matthew was already, it would seem, planning his return to Sicily after something like a year in the Athenian duchy: he had expected to send some of his retinue back to Sicily in Anthony George's ship until that worthy departed with unseemly haste.⁶² When Don Matthew left Thebes, some weeks or months later, one Peter de Pou, a Catalan noble long resident in Thebes, succeeded him as vicar-general. He was an unfortunate choice; his commission of appointment is not extant, its date is unknown. De Pou expelled Don James Fadrique and his family from the castles of Salona, Loidoriki, and Veteranitza, and had the effrontery to refuse a royal command to restore Don James's castles to him, but finally agreed to give them up for

61. *Dipl.*, doc. CCXLV, pp. 325-327. Note that "... com entre les jurisdiccions del dit senyor rey Daragon e del molt alt princep e senyor, senyor nostre don Frederich [III] per la gracia de Déu rey de Cicilia e duch dels dits ducats, nos dega fer neguna diferencia, com lo dit senyor rey nostre sia al dit senyor rey Daragon cosi e frare e fill e gendre..." (p. 327).

62. *Dipl.*, doc. CCXLV, p. 326.

a pledge of 5,000 *hyperperi*.⁶³ But on this occasion, at least, death came quickly to the tyrant in medieval as in ancient Greece, for he was slain in an uprising in the capital city of Thebes in April or May 1362 when a determined cabal led by the Marshal Roger de Lluria put an end to his usurpations, his rule, and his life. There was nothing half-hearted about the opposition of de Lluria and his partisans to the obstreperous vicar-general de Pou; they killed his wife Angelina and a half dozen of his most prominent supporters, including Michael Oller, dean of the Theban minster.⁶⁴

After de Pou's death the government of the duchies fell to the Marshal Roger de Lluria, who took over the city of Thebes, and ruled Athens and Neopatras until his death in 1369 or early 1370. It is not clear what, if any-

63. *Dipl.*, doc. CCLXXII, pp. 356-357; Lampros, *Eggrapha*, part IV, no. 95, pp. 343-344, dated August 3, 1366; and cf. Loenertz, *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, XXV, nos. 51-52, 83, pp. 113-114, 122-123. By the document in question James Fadrique's brother Boniface was granted a stronghold in the Athenian duchy, *turris que dicitur Giffina*, which had belonged to de Pou in 1362, in compensation for the 5,000 *hyperperi* which de Pou had *illicite et injuste* forced James to pay for the return of his three castles, "... castra ... scilicet Sole, Lodolichi et Vitranize, posita in dictis ducatus, que contra eos [the brothers Fadrique] per Petrum de Putheo, tunc vicarium dictorum ducatus, eiusque complices et consortes occasione guerre tunc vigentis ibidem occupata detenebantur contra iusticiam et per vim ... tunc vicario ibidem per maiestatis nostre literas scripsimus iniungentes ut castra predicta prefato Jacobo restituerint instanter ipseque Petrus, predicto nostro negligens obtemperare mandato, ipsius vigore dicta castra restituere totaliter recusavit, sed pepigit et recepit propterea quasi per vim ab eodem Jaymo, tamquam aliud facere nequeunte quinque milia perparorum que predictus Petrus eis restituere neglexit, ymo prius fuit morte preventus" James was now dead (in 1366), but had ceded to Boniface his rights and property in the Athenian duchy. Since the 5,000 *hyperperi* were no longer recoverable, the king acknowledged Boniface's possession of the *Turris Giffina* (Gittina?) as compensation for the financial loss which the Fadriques had sustained.

64. *Dipl.*, doc. CCXC, pp. 377-379; Lampros, *Eggrapha*, part IV, doc. 20, pp. 256-259. For the death of Peter de Pou's wife Angelina, note *Dipl.*, p. 378, and for that of Michael Oller, *loc. cit.*, and doc. CCLII, p. 335, and cf. in general Loenertz, *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, XXV, no. 61, p. 116. Oller was canon and dean of Thebes, and held a canonry in the Church of Neopatras (*Dipl.*, docs. CCXVII, CCXIX, pp. 295, 296). He seems to have been a native of Majorca.

Like others of his time, Michael Oller must have found the ecclesiastical life remunerative, for besides other property he is said to have left cash amounting to some 5,000 or 6,000 gold *regales* Majorcan (*Diplomatari*, doc. CCLII, p. 335, dated at Barcelona August 26, 1362). Although King Peter IV of Aragon claimed Oller's estate for the latter's next of kin (in the document cited), Pope Urban V intervened on November 3, 1363, on the ground that Oller, together with certain accomplices, had illegally seized the property, movable goods, and income of Sirellus Petri, the late archbishop of Thebes (1351-1357), on which see *Archivio Segreto Vaticano*, Reg. Vat. 246, fols. 45^v-46^v, "datum Avinione III non. Novembris anno primo." Sirellus Petri's possessions had been reserved for the Holy See.

thing, happened in Athens at the time of the *coup d'état* in Thebes. Elsewhere in the Athenian duchy James Fadrique obviously supported the marshal. Before news of the events in Thebes had reached the Sicilian court, however, King Frederick III had removed de Pou from the vicariate and appointed another in his stead, possibly Gonsalvo Ximenez de Arenos, who had previously held the office (in 1359). Frederick had heard a good deal about de Pou's conduct of affairs from Berenguer Soler of Thebes, who had gone to Sicily to present a half dozen petitions for the redress of grievances before the royal court.

On May 28, 1362, King Frederick informed the new vicar-general that Berenguer Soler, whom Peter de Pou had appointed castellan of Veteranitza, had planted in the area of the castle a "certa quantitas victualium" (beans sown in October 1361?). But now that he wanted to harvest his crop, de Pou was wrongfully preventing his doing so. The king declared that, if the facts were as set forth in Soler's petition, and the customary land tax (*ius terragii*) had been paid to the royal court in Sicily, the vicar-general was in all justice to allow Soler to harvest the crop.⁶⁵ Since moreover Soler served as agent for the preceptor of the Hospital of St. John in Corinth, the vicar-general was also requested to help him collect the revenues of certain properties which the Corinthian Hospitallers possessed in the duchies.⁶⁶ Soler was full of complaints. When he was having his difficulties with de Pou, and had announced his intention of appealing to the king in Sicily, de Pou had seized "certain pigs, money, and other movable goods," which Soler had in and around Thebes. The new vicar was therefore ordered to summon the parties concerned into his own presence, hear the claims of both sides, and see that full justice was done "without any frivolous delay."⁶⁷

Furthermore, while Soler was serving as castellan of Veteranitza (which the aberrant de Pou had of course seized from James Fadrique), he had been

65. *Dipl.*, doc. CCC, p. 388, properly dated May 28, 1362 (misdated 1368 by Rubió i Lluch, *loc. cit.*, and Lampros, *Eggrapha*, part IV, doc. 2, p. 234). The text of the royal injunction makes clear that the Sicilian court believed de Pou to be still alive: "... dictus Petrus eidem exponenti [Belingerio Soleri] prohibet atque vetat in iuris iniuriam et ipsius preiudicium exponentis ..." Cf. Loenertz, *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, XXV, no. 56, pp. 114-115.

66. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCI, p. 389, properly dated May 28, 1362.

67. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCII, pp. 389-390, properly dated May 28, 1362: "... partibus ipsius in vestra presencia convocatis ..." Again the tenor of the injunction makes it quite clear that in Sicily de Pou was believed still to be alive. He had obviously been very much alive when Berenguer Soler had left Thebes about six weeks before (cf. Loenertz, *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, XXV, no. 57, p. 115).



ordered to arm a royal vessel (*barca nostre curie*) and investigate reports of an Albanian approach. The reports were obviously true enough since the Albanians had captured the vessel, and on the pretext of making up for the loss de Pou had seized a vessel (also a *barca*) belonging to the harassed Soler, who demanded justice on this account as well as the others. Again the new vicar-general was directed to summon the parties concerned before his tribunal, hear the claims of both sides, and see that justice was done.⁶⁸

The indefatigable Soler took further advantage of his presence at the Sicilian court to press for review of a case involving 450 *hyperperi* which had been decided against him, apparently a few years before when the newly appointed vicar-general was serving a previous term in office, at which time he had declined to hear Soler's appeal. The vicar-general was now to admit the appeal if it had been properly made in the first instance *infra legitima tempora*, and see that the letter of the law was followed in securing justice for the complainant.⁶⁹ Soler had still another grievance, which he stated before the Sicilian court, claiming that de Pou had taken away from him a Greek slave named Michali. Soler asserted that he had legally purchased the slave, whom de Pou had later declared to be a free man. After a while, however, Michali had been sold as de Pou's property and sent to Majorca. If the facts were as set forth by Soler, the vicar-general was to compel de Pou to make financial restitution to the complainant of the full value of the slave.⁷⁰

While Berenguer was thus regaling the Sicilian *magna curia* with the details of de Pou's villainous vicariate, another Soler, possibly a relative, came forward with another complaint, this time directed against a member of the Fadrique family. Peter Soler, a Catalan citizen of Catania, stated that when his armed ship of 48 oars was leaving Greece for Catania, it had put in at the island of Aegina. The island dynast, John Fadrique of Aragon, a younger son of the great Don Alfonso, had forcibly seized both the ship and its cargo, which he still retained. John Fadrique had also held Peter Soler prisoner for a while.

68. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCIV, p. 391: "... partibus que tanguntur in vestri presencia constitutis ...;" Lampros, *Eggrapha*, part IV, doc. 5, pp. 236-237, properly dated May 28, 1362.

69. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCV, pp. 391-392: "... quam quidem appellacionem sibi admit[t]ere noluit in eius preiudicium;" Lampros, *Eggrapha*, part IV, doc. 6, pp. 237-238, properly dated May 28, 1362. The fact that the vicar-general had previously served in office and had just been reappointed suggests that he may have been Gonsalvo Ximenes de Arenos. It also excludes Matthew de Moncada, who was himself returned to the vicariate on August 16, 1363 (*Dipl.*, docs. CCLIII, CCLIV, pp. 336-338, and see Loenertz, *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, XXV, no. 59, p. 115).

70. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCVI, pp. 392-393; Lampros, *Eggrapha*, part IV, no. 7, p. 238, properly dated May 28, 1362.

The king now directed the newly appointed vicar-general to summon both parties before his tribunal, and having heard the verified statements of both sides, to see to the restitution to the said Peter Soler of the full value of the ship and its cargo if the facts were as he had presented them to the court.⁷¹ By the time the royal letters on behalf of the Solers had reached the ducal capital of Thebes, Peter de Pou was dead, and Berenguer may have had difficulty substantiating his claims. As for Peter Soler, no evidence survives concerning the extent of his success in securing the recovery of his ship and cargo or some measure of indemnification from John Fadrique, who had powerful connections among the Catalan feudatories in Greece.

The adjudication of still further cases required the king's attention. That of James Sacco of Messina had been pending in the royal court for more than two years, and his majesty now returned to it on July 29, 1362. James's brother John Sacco, a citizen of Thebes, having no children of his own, had made James's sons his heirs. After John's death, however, they had been unable to secure the properties (*bona*) he had left them, for the vicar-general, Matthew de Moncada, apparently questioning James's loyalty to the Catalan crown of Sicily and asserting that the colonial government was short of funds for salaries of castellans and others, had sold at public auction the Sacco family's Greek inheritance. A charge of disloyalty could be made against the Saccos because James and his sons were living in Messina when John died, and Messina was in enemy hands. Indeed, the Angevins of Naples held the city from November 1356 through May 1364.⁷² But the Saccos had been in Messina as Angevin captives, declared the king, who recognized that they "had always entertained pure intentions toward us and had never strayed from the straight path of fidelity to us." He also stated that the vicar-general should not have conducted public business with private resources, and ordered restitution of the properties in question regardless of who held them.⁷³

The case became more complicated, however, when it was discovered that Bernard Desvilar, a rich inhabitant of Thebes, had bought at public auction a farm belonging to the late John Sacco. But Desvilar had been a supporter of Peter de Pou, and the Marshal Roger de Lluria had killed him during the Theban debacle, apparently pursuing him into his own house.⁷⁴ Desvilar's

71. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCIII, p. 390; Lampros, *Eggrapha*, part IV, doc. 4, pp. 235-236, properly dated May 28, 1362.

72. See Setton, *Speculum*, XXVIII (1953), 644-645.

73. *Dipl.*, doc. CCLXVII, pp. 349-351; Lampros, *Eggrapha*, part IV, docs, 98-99, pp. 346-349, properly dated July 29, 1362.

74. *Dipl.*, doc. DCCXIII, p. 744, dated May 8, 1381: "... nobilis Rogerius de Luria quon-

widow Beatrice was left in a perilous quandary, and so she married Bernard Ballester in a hurry, because she apparently needed the protection which Ballester, as one of de Lluria's partisans, was presumably in a position to afford her. Later on, another of Beatrice's property rights would cause the overweening marshal and the persistent Ballester to part company, but in the meantime the latter appealed to the royal court in Sicily, claiming that restitution to the Saccos, without refunding the purchase price, of the property which Desvilar had bought at auction was contrary to the Customs of Barcelona under which the citizens and inhabitants of the duchies lived. His majesty agreed, and until someone reimbursed Beatrice for her former husband's investment, she was to keep the farm.⁷⁵ The social history of the Catalan duchies must be based upon such sources as these, which obviously provide us with interesting (but limited) glimpses into the violent uncertainties of life in Boeotia and Attica in the fourteenth century.

The papacy was hostile to the Grand Company through most of the period of Catalan settlement in Greece. All the Avignonese popes were French; the Catalans had dispossessed the French family of Brienne; and the Brienne were Guelfs. Until 1372 the Catalan duchy of Athens was placed under frequent interdicts, which must have been distressing to the Catholic conscience, but by and large the Church continued to function in the duchy. The upheaval of 1362 was especially violent, however, and its repercussions lasted for years. Roger de Lluria's vicariate was stormy, involving a virtual war in 1362 with Peter Gradenigo, the Venetian bailie of Negroponte. Although we know little of the extent of either Catalan or Venetian operations, hostilities continued until 1365.⁷⁶ De Lluria lacked a legal basis for his exercise of public authority. He sought Turkish aid, presumably from the coastal emirates of Asia Minor, and early in 1363 he admitted Turkish troops within the walls of Thebes. Central Greece was in turmoil.

Pope Urban V was trying to organize a crusade, and indignation ran high in the Curia Romana when word reached Avignon "that in the city of Thebes

dam, qui tunc tyrannice dictis ducatus presidebat, in domo propria nequiter interfecit dictum Bernardum de Villari ..."

75. *Dipl.*, doc. CCLXVII, pp. 351-352; Lampros, *Eggrapha*, part IV, doc. 65, pp. 306-307, properly dated 1362; Loenertz, *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, XXV, nos. 46, 62, pp. 113, 116, 190-192.

76. *Dipl.*, docs. CCLVIII, CCLX, CCCXIII, pp. 341-342, 344, 400. Difficulties apparently began in August 1362 when Roger de Lluria is said to have seized from a Venetian citizen money or property worth some 520 *hyperperi*, for which the claim was still unsettled in July 1369.

and other places roundabout a profane multitude of infidel Turks are dwelling," as Urban wrote the archbishop of Patras on June 27, 1364, "and constantly striving to attack the lands of your Church of Patras and other nearby areas belonging to the faithful." Urban charged the archbishop "that fired with the love of God and with fervor for his faith you should rise up against these Turks, manfully and as powerfully as your strength allows, so that with God's right hand providing you and his other servants with valor the said Turks may be repulsed ..., and you stepping forth as a true boxer of Christ may gain more fully thereby the reward of eternal recompense and the plenitude of our grace."⁷⁷ On the same day Urban addressed a letter of grim remonstrance to Roger de Lluria and his brother John, ordering them to dismiss their Turkish mercenaries and take up arms against them, restore to the Theban Church the goods and properties they had seized, and readmit the Latin archbishop to his defenseless see.⁷⁸

The archbishop was Paulus, who occupied the Theban *cathedra* from 1357 to 1366. He later became the Latin patriarch of Constantinople.⁷⁹ With

77. Arch. Segr. Vaticano, Reg. Vat. 246, fol. 240, letter dated at Avignon on June 27, 1364: "Venerabili fratri archiepiscopo Patracensi salutem, etc. Quanto pre cunctis mentis nostre desiderabilibus catholice fidei affectamus augmentum, tanto hiis que huiusmodi adversantur augmento obviare solercius procuramus ut Christi nomen ampliatur in terris et perfidorum vesania conteratur. Cum itaque nuper audiverimus fide digna relatione quamplurium non sine amaritudine cordis nostri quod in civitate Thebana et aliis circumvicinis partibus infidelium Turchorum prophana multitudo moretur ac terras ecclesie tue Patracensis et alias circumstantes partes fidelium impugnare assidue molitur, fraternitatem tuam rogamus et hortamur attente tibi nichilominus iniungentes quatenus zelo dei eiusque fidei fervore succensus adversus ipsos Turchos sic exurgas viriliter et pro tua facultate potenter quod dei dextera tecum et cum aliis suis famulis faciente virtutem dicti Turchi per tuam et aliorum partium illarum fidelium quibus similiter scribimus de dictis partibus repellantur tuque verus pugil Christi existens exinde premium retributionis eterne et gratie nostre plenitudinem uberius consequaris. Datum Avinione V Kal. Julii anno secundo." Much the same letter was addressed on the same day to the whole hierarchy and clergy, the bailie, baronage, and towns of the Achaean principality (*ibid.*, Reg. Vat. 246, fol. 240^v). The texts of these documents are not given in Paul Lecacheux, *Lettres secrètes et curiales du pape Urbain V ...*, fasc. 2 (Paris, 1906), nos. 1047-1049, p. 163, nor do they appear in Rubió i Lluch's *Diplomatari*. In a bull, directed *ad perpetuam rei memoriam* and dated March 21, 1364, Urban V excommunicated among various other classes of malefactors those who supplied horses, arms, iron, timber, and *alia prohibita* to the Moslems, who carried on war against the Christians (Arch. Segr. Vaticano, Reg. Vat. 246, fol. 141^v, "datum et actum Avinione XII Kal. Aprilis anno secundo").

78. *Dipl.*, doc. CCLVI, pp. 339-340, and cf. Lecacheux, *Lettres secrètes et curiales*, fasc. 2, no. 1050, p. 163.

79. *Dipl.*, docs. CCXXXII, CCLXIV, pp. 305, 347, and on Paulus see also K. M. Setton,

three other notables Paulus had made his way to Sicily, and appeared before Frederick III, who refers to the delegation (rightly or wrongly) as "envoys or ambassadors sent by certain municipalities ... of our duchies." On August 16, 1363, Frederick reappointed Matthew de Moncada as vicar-general to free his faithful citizens of Thebes from the horrors of the infidel encampment in their midst. He was to proclaim an amnesty; receive into his charge the castles and fortified places on the royal domain; appoint castellans, veguers, and captains, and receive their oaths of fealty in the king's name; and collect crown revenues and proper exactions for the maintenance of royal castles and for his various official burdens.⁸⁰

Before returning to Greece to resume his command, Moncada dispatched *sua gens armigera* against the doughty Roger de Lluria, whose troopers destroyed the whole force.⁸¹ Thereafter Moncada seems to have entertained no enthusiasm for taking up his honorific but perilous post. In a recently published letter dated August 9, 1365, King Frederick III informed Moncada that an envoy bringing a petition from the Catalan Company had just described the daily harassment of the duchies by the Venetians. The king's subjects overseas complained that they were left without proper protection because of the absence of the vicar-general, and were being forced into an alliance with the doge and republic of Genoa, "and if this should take effect, which heaven forbid, quite obviously the abdication of the duchies from our sovereignty and dominion would follow" Frederick could not tolerate the prospect of losing Greece, the provincial ornament in his crown, which his predecessors had won by the clash of arms and the shedding of blood. The Catalan duchies must not perish for want of a defender. Moncada was to proceed to Greece with an adequate force within three months or Fredèrick would replace him with another vicar-general.⁸²

"The Byzantine Background to the Italian Renaissance," *Proceedings of the American Philological Society*, C (1956), 45-46.

80. *Dipl.*, doc. CCLIII, pp. 336-337; R. Gregorio, *Opere rare* (Palermo, 1873), pp. 357-358. De Lluria's Turkish contingent was said to be a menace to both town and countryside, *tam cives quam agricolae* (*loc. cit.*).

81. *Dipl.*, doc. CCXC, p. 378; Lampros, *Eggrapha*, part IV, doc. 20, p. 257; Loenertz, *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, XXV, no. 67, p. 117.

82. Loenertz, *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, XXV, 428-429, document dated at Messina on August 9, 1365: "... nostri subditi eorundem ducatum a Venetis damna et iniurias cotidie substantes [the decision of the Venetian Senate of July 25 (*Dipl.*, doc. CCLVIII, pp. 341-342) to cease these acts of hostility was not yet known in Messina] non valentes protectoris defectu defensionis clipeum opponere contra eos, coguntur cum duce et comuni Ianue societatis federa et unitatis inire... ."

Even if Roger de Lluria's government was illegal and he could not protect the Athenian duchy from Venetian depredation, there was still no way to get rid of him. There was a large work of political reorganization to be done, and since Frederick III was obliged to accept accomplished facts, some of his rebellious subjects were to be rewarded for their self-willed estrangement from the crown. A score of documents testify to the administrative activity of the year 1366. There comes first, on March 18, the appointment of John de' Bonacolsi of Mantua, "henceforth for all his life," to both the castellany and the captaincy of the castle and town of Livadia (and the removal from these offices of Arnold Terrades). His official functions were explained to the new appointee with more than routine care, especially his duties as captain, which brought with it jurisdiction in criminal cases.⁸³ The confusion that obtained in Catalan affairs in Greece is evident from the fact that on September 16, William Fadrique of Aragon, who had already received a life grant of the castle of Estir, the ancient Stiris, on June 6,⁸⁴ received also, "for life," the castellany, vegueria, and captaincy of Livadia (to which John de' Bonacolsi had been appointed six months before!), from which offices his majesty now ordered William de Almenara, or any others holding the same commissions, to be removed!⁸⁵ But William de Almenara was then ensconced in the castle of Livadia, which he continued to hold until his death, and Roger de Lluria possessed Stiris, from which he was not to be dislodged. Four years before this, on July 29, 1362, Frederick III had granted Francis de Cremona, a citizen of Catania, a life tenure of the public notariate in the duchies of Athens and Neopatras with the right to appoint substitutes in individual cities and other jurisdictions.⁸⁶ Now, on November 19, 1366, the king granted William de Sengler hereditary tenure of the notarial office in Thebes, relinquished to him by Francis, who had decided to reestablish his residence in Sicily, there to serve his majesty.⁸⁷ The contents of the documents are clear, but the facts which lie behind them are not. Thus we cannot tell whether Sengler ever occupied his "hereditary" office or whether Francis ever moved back to Sicily, for by a document dated at Catania on April 2, 1375, Frederick appointed one Matthew de Juvenio to a life tenure of the Greek ducal notariate in place of Francis de

83. *Dipl.*, docs. CCLXII, CCLXIII, pp. 345-347. See also Setton, *Catalan Domination*, pp. 80 ff., 151 ff.

84. *Dipl.*, doc. CCLXVI, pp. 348-349. William Fadrique was probably the fifth son of the great vicar-general Don Alfonso Fadrique (d. 1338).

85. *Dipl.*, doc. CCLXXIII, pp. 357-358.

86. *Dipl.*, doc. CCLXX, pp. 354-355, properly dated July 29, 1362.

87. *Dipl.*, doc. CCLXXXIV, p. 368.

Cremona, now dead, whose memory is excoriated as that of a traitor to the Catalan-Sicilian crown.⁸⁸

On August 3 of this year of attempted reconstruction in the duchies (1366) King Frederick wrote the Marshal Roger de Lluria, and addressed him for the first time as vicar-general, concerning certain property claims of Doña Dulcia of Aragon, wife of Boniface Fadrique, which she had substantiated in the veguer's court at Thebes.⁸⁹ Don Boniface was the fourth son of the lordly Don Alfonso. At the same time as his wife received recognition of her rights, Boniface himself was granted the mysterious *Turris Giffina* (or *Gittina*), formerly the property of Peter de Pou and located somewhere in the Athenian duchy, in lieu of the 5,000 *hyperperi* of which de Pou had unjustly deprived his brother James, now dead, for James was alleged to have ceded all his rights and properties in the Athenian duchy to Boniface, including the 5,000 *hyperperi* in question.⁹⁰ On September 23, Michael de Gaspo was granted the property of Stephen de Mastrotheodoro, a Greek citizen of Thebes, who must have possessed the franchise to own property, which was now however confiscated to the Crown according to the laws and customs of the duchies, for Stephen, having once accepted Catholicism, had reverted to the Greek faith on his deathbed.⁹¹

The deceased Gonsalvo Ximenez de Arenos, vicar-general of the duchies in 1359, and his wife Serena, also dead, had entrusted certain jewels and valuables to John Sanudo, a Venetian resident of Negroponte; Sanudo, too, was dead, and so was Virdina, the Arenos's heiress; so her husband George de Grapheo, a treasurer of the kingdom of Sicily, sought the jewels and other things from Sanudo's heirs. King Frederick pressed de Grapheo's case in Venice, in Negroponte, and in Thebes.⁹² The Marshal de Lluria, again addressed as vicar-general (on October 5, 1366), was directed to restore to Arnold Des Puig (*de Spug*), of Livadia, an estate near Livadia called "Lespileyá," the

88. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCXLIX, pp. 435-436. Rubió i Lluch believed that Francis de Cremona may have become a fautor of Nerio Acciajuoli in the latter's first attacks upon the Athenian duchy (*Anuari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans*, V [1913-1914], 462-463). This would of course explain the *crimen rebellionis* attributed to Francis in the document referred to above.

89. *Dipl.*, doc. CCLXXI, pp. 355-356.

90. *Dipl.*, doc. CCLXXII, pp. 356-357. James was Don Alfonso's second son.

91. *Dipl.*, doc. CCLXXIV, pp. 358-359; Stephen's heirs were thus deprived of their inheritance. Cf. doc. CCXCII, pp. 380-381.

92. *Dipl.*, docs. CCLXXV, CCLXXVI, pp. 359-361, dated September 23, 1366. There is surely no reason for Rubió i Lluch, *ibid.*, p. 360, note, to identify John Sanudo, "resident of Negroponte" (*incola Nigropontis*), with Duke John I Sanudo of the Archipelago (Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes*, p. 480).

"Cove," of which Arnold had been unlawfully deprived by Bernard Savall, who still retained possession of Lespileya.⁹³ Five other documents of the same date (October 5) provided for some of the manifold interests of Nicholas de Ardoino, son of Peter de Ardoino, notary and sometime chancellor of the Catalan Grand Company (in 1316). Nicholas had been exiled from his native Thebes through the five bad years since 1361. He was now to receive some property, the income therefrom, and other dues, first awarded to his father some years before in the veguer's court in Thebes, against opposing claims put forward by a certain Blanca de Clariana.⁹⁴ Nicholas was also granted the "fruits and revenues" accruing from the rights and properties of the late Ermengol de Novelles and of one Maxima Truxovalus in the duchy of Neopatrass, which were "to be received and kept by the said Nicholas for the present year only of this fifth indiction [1366-1367], to be applied to his needs." After September 1 (1366), however, Nicholas was to have and to hold at the king's good pleasure all the late Ermengol's properties and rights in the town and district of Zeitounion (*lu Citon*),⁹⁵ which had just come under the feudal sway of the young Don Luis Fadrique, "count" of Salona and son of the recently deceased James.⁹⁶ During the years of Nicholas's exile from Thebes certain persons, claiming in the court of the veguer and captain of Thebes to be his creditors, had obtained a court order for the possession and sale of some of his property, but the so-called veguer's judgment was declared to be invalid, for he had held no royal commission to exercise the office, and he had been Nicholas's enemy, and so now by a sort of writ *de odio et atia* Nicholas secured the revocation of the judgment against him and the restitution of his property.⁹⁷ Nicholas was granted, further, the office of captain and veguer of Thebes, for a period of three years, upon the termination of Albert de' Bonacolsi's appointment to the captaincy of Thebes.⁹⁸ On April 6, 1375, the king ratified all Ardoino's acts in office with the striking observation "that although at times [*olim*] the office of veguer in our city of Thebes has been vacant because of various disorders which have arisen in the city when the devil of discord has had his way [*operante patre zizanie*], our faithful familiar Nicholas de Ardoino has conducted himself as veguer of the said city - [which office he has held] upon the petition, election, and insistence of the municipality... and of the city council - rather on behalf of good government, reform, and

93. *Dipl.*, doc. CCLXXVIII, pp. 362-363.

94. *Dipl.*, doc. CCLXXIX, pp. 363-364.

95. *Dipl.*, doc. CCLXXX, pp. 364-365.

96. *Dipl.*, doc. CCLXXXII, pp. 366-367.

97. *Dipl.*, doc. CCLXXXI, pp. 365-366.

98. *Dipl.*, doc. CCLXXXIII, p. 367.



the pacific state of the city than by yielding to the corruption of ambition, honor, and office” Nicholas had cultivated justice, says the king, and defended the public welfare, as a veguer was supposed to do.⁹⁹ Although Ardoino was of Sicilian origin, his father had been one of the original Conquistadors, and he was obviously much trusted by the Catalans in Thebes. On April 10 he was reappointed veguer of Thebes for one year (1375-1376), and on June 7, 1376, the king prolonged his term of office until 1378, thus expanding this last appointment to the full term of three years.¹⁰⁰ A just governor was a rare bird in the Athenian duchy, and the Catalan community in Thebes was quite content to see him roost in power, but only for three years at a time.

Roger de Lluria’s boldness had been justified by his success, for at Mes-sina on May 14, 1367, a chancery clerk prepared another royal letter of commission that signalized his official appointment to the office he had exercised for some five years in the protection and pursuit of his own interests, and the various officials of all the municipalities of the duchies of Athens and Neopatrass were informed by letters patent of his appointment as vicar-general.¹⁰¹ Grants of land and privilege made to de Lluria in years past by John II of Randazzo and his son Frederick I, dukes of Athens from 1338 to 1355, and by his majesty’s late brother Louis, king of Sicily (1342-1355), and by Frederick III himself were now confirmed,¹⁰² and the royal indulgence was formally renewed to the energetic de Lluria and his partisans for the many crimes of violence of which they had been guilty during the uprising at Thebes in 1362, when (as we have seen) Peter de Pou and his wife Angelina were killed, as well as Michael Oller, then dean of the Theban minster; James Sardà (or Sardana), the veguer of Thebes; Peter Balaguer, a syndic; and a number of others, some of whom are named in the document.¹⁰³ Roger de Lluria and his heirs were confirmed in possession of the town of Stiris in Phocis and of a stronghold called Methocya.¹⁰⁴ Stiris had belonged to Ermengol de Novelles, who had been adjudged a “rebel” in 1365 (*lo qual era revellat e en contra la senyoria real e ducal*) because of his failure to surrender the castle of Siderocastron to

99. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCLII, pp. 438-439.

100. *Dipl.*, docs. CCCLV, CCCLVI, CCCLXIV, pp. 441-442, 448-449. By a letter patent of June 6, 1376, in answer to a letter of the preceding February 13 from the syndics and council of the municipality of Thebes. Frederick III declared null and void his own and his predecessors’ granting of any favor, right or office “contra privilegia, libertates atque franchicias et consuetudines vestras” (*ibid.*, doc. CCCLXIII, pp. 447-448).

101. *Dipl.*, docs. CCLXXXVI, CCLXXXVII, pp. 370-372.

102. *Dipl.*, doc. CCLXXXVIII, p. 373, dated May 16, 1367.

103. *Dipl.*, doc. CCXC, pp. 377-379, dated May 18, 1367.

104. *Dipl.*, doc. CCXCI, pp. 379-380, dated May 18, 1367.

the vicar-general Moncada when ordered by Frederick III to do so, whereupon James Fadrique had virtuously seized the castle in the king's name and continued to hold it as his own castellany!¹⁰⁵ De Lluria had occupied Stiris in even less chivalrous fashion, for Ermengol had mortgaged the place for 8,000 *hyperperi* of gold to Bernard Desvilar, whom de Lluria had "wickedly slain in his own house," during the outbreak of violence at Thebes. When Desvilar's widow Beatrice married Bernard Ballester, de Lluria required them to surrender their rights to Stiris for a mere 2,000 *hyperperi*, which of course he never paid. Since he had a tyrant's grasp upon the duchies, he could thus add insult to injury, but years later, in 1381, Ballester secured a royal judgment against de Lluria properties in the city and district of Athens.¹⁰⁶ By then Roger de Lluria had been dead for more than a decade, but death often came more quickly than justice in the Catalan duchies.

At the beginning of the year 1367 the free inhabitants of the duchies had assembled in their town councils to provide for the future, now that the uncertainties of rebellion and war seemed to be past. A general assembly had met at Thebes and prepared a petition for presentation to King Frederick III in Sicily. The chancellor of the Catalan Company affixed the seal of St. George to the petition, called by Rubió i Lluch the "Articles of Thebes," on January 2, and on May 18 its provisions were read to the king at Messina, and he answered them one by one.¹⁰⁷

A similar procedure was followed in connection with the far more significant "Articles of Athens," thirteen years later. As the shock of the recent Navarrese invasion subsided, a parliament was assembled in Athens (it may well have met in the Parthenon), to which were summoned the syndics, aldermen, and council of the municipal corporation (*sindichs, prohomens e consell dela dita universitat*). This parliament prepared a petition, dated May 20, 1380, for submission to King Peter IV, who by accepting or rejecting its terms would determine the conditions under which the chief officers and citizens of

105. *Dipl.*, docs. CCLVII, CCLXXXIX, CCCXCII, CDXVIII, pp. 340-341, 375, 480, 499, dated in 1365, 1367, and 1380. Loenertz (*Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, XXV, 173, 185-186) believes that Ermengol refused to surrender Siderocastron, and that James Fadrique seized the opportunity to dispossess him and occupy the castle in the king's name, which is probably an accurate reconstruction of events, and Setton, *Catalan Domination*, pp. 52, 107, is wrong.

106. *Dipl.*, doc. DCCXIII, pp. 743-744: "... sua tirannica potencia dictis ducibus imperans ... et mala peioribus addendo ...;" Loenertz, *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, XXV, nos. 75-76, 195, pp. 120, 149-150, 183, 185-186.

107. *Dipl.*, doc. CCLXXXIX, pp. 374-377; Loenertz, *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, XXV, nos. 93, 98, pp. 125, 126. The petition was made "sub sigillo seu bulla beati Georgii."

Athens would become the vassals of the Crown of Aragon. Of the sixteen or seventeen items in this important document, only four or five relate to the common concerns of the state and the community. The remaining dozen items consist of personal requests which seem to show small understanding of the perilous condition to which the duchy of Athens had been reduced. The parliament at Athens was anxious to secure rewards from the Crown for those who had proved their loyalty by resisting the Navarrese invasion.

The parliament was under the dominance of Romeo de Bellarbre, castellan and captain of Athens, and Galcerán de Peralta had become merely "our former governor" (*olim regidor de Cetines*) as he languished in a Theban prison. The petitioners' first request of Peter IV was that he send them a proper "official" to govern the duchies, one who could reconquer the lands which the Navarrese had seized. The king was to answer, when he ratified or rejected the various articles of the petition at Lérida on the following September 1, that he was sending Philip Dalmau, viscount of Rocaberti, as his vicar-general to Greece, and that Rocaberti would be accompanied by forces strong enough to restore the territorial integrity of the duchies and reestablish a peaceful life within them. When preparing their petition in May, however, the Catalans had informed King Peter that if he could not immediately send them the strong governor they needed, they would be pleased to have "as our official and governor of Athens the most honored Don Romeo de Bellarbre, who knows the desperate conditions in the said city and the poverty and anxiety of its people" (... *lo qual coneix los affers encantats dela dita universitat e pobretat e afany del poble d'aquella*). Indeed, they had hoped it would please his majesty to give Bellarbre a lifetime appointment to the post. The king replied that he had conferred upon Rocaberti all the offices in the two duchies, the castellanies as well as captaincies, but he did bestow upon Bellarbre a lifetime command of the Acropolis, *la castellania del castell de Cetines ... a sa vida*. Since Bellarbre was said, moreover, to have "neither goods nor possessions enough in the said city of Cetines for his support," the king gave him the Athenian properties of Jaime and Jaimet Conominas as well as those of Albert de' Bonacolsi of Mantua in further payment of his service to the Crown. The Conominas and Albert had been dispossessed for their treachery (*rebellació*) during the Navarrese invasion. It might actually have been well to sell at public auction all confiscated properties and to expend the proceeds to hire mercenaries to retake Thebes or at least to strengthen the approaches to the Acropolis. Bellarbre's Greek mistress, Zoe of Megara, by whom he had had children, was granted the Catalan franchise with the customary rights of acquiring and disposing of property. Zoe had been a slave (*serviciala*), but now she was free to marry Bellarbre, for whom having a Greek wife might

prove useful in dealing with the native population of Athens.¹⁰⁸

The petitioners sought Peter IV's approval of the agreements made (about 1376-1377) "between the magnificent Don Luis of Aragon, the vicar [-general], and the municipalities of Thebes and Livadia on the one hand and, on the other, the noble Don Galcerán de Peralta, formerly the governor of Athens, together with the said city of Athens...", agreements which had established the virtual independence of Athens. The petition was prepared, of course, in the springtime of Bellarbre's hopes. He wanted the continuance of the freedom of action he had been enjoying, even requesting that it obtain under his successors (... *e tot altre regidor nostre que será en Cetines*). But the king realized that if the magnates had not been quarreling among themselves in the period just before the Navarrese attacks, they might have successfully defended Thebes, and so he refused the request. All divisions and dissensions of times past must cease, he said, and Rocaberti must rule as vicar-general over the united duchies.

The Articles of Athens also affirmed the long dedication of the Greek notary Demetrius Rendi to the *sacra corona d'Aragó*, requesting the same rights and privileges for him "as for all the other Conquistadors of the said duchies of Athens and Neopatras." The Articles as extant contain the Catalan text of Peter IV's renewal of the full franchise which Frederick III had granted Rendi years before (on July 29, 1362) when Rendi, his sons, daughters, and descendants received the right to retain their Orthodox faith and at the same time to contract marriage with Latin Catholics, notwithstanding statutes which the Company had enunciated to the contrary. With the franchise went the usual right to buy, sell, alienate, and exchange at will both movable and immovable goods "just like the Frankish inhabitants of the aforesaid city" [of Athens].¹⁰⁹ King Peter now directed his officials everywhere in the duchies

108. The text of the "Articles of Athens" may be found in Rubió i Lluch, *Los Navarros en Grecia* (1886), doc. XXXII, pp. 241-251, and in the *Diplomatari*, doc. CCCXCI, pp. 473-479. At Lérida on September 1, 1380, King Peter IV also confirmed the requests contained in the "Articles of Salona," which had been prepared on May 31, 1380, on behalf of Don Luis Fadrique, lord of Salona and count of Malta. Petitions had also been prepared at Salona for presentation to the king by the refugee "municipal corporation" of Thebes (on May 22) and by the "universitat" of Livadia (on June 1; for these dates, see *Dipl.*, doc. CCCXCII, p. 481), the two latter documents having perished, although the Articles of Salona are still extant (Rubíó, *Los Navarros*, doc. XXXIX, pp. 256-259, and *Dipl.*, doc. CCCXCII, pp. 480-482). Cf. in general Setton, *Catalan Domination*, pp. 158-164, and Loenertz, *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, XXV, nos. 167-172, 175-177, pp. 143-145, 171-172.

109. The grant of July 29, 1362, of the franchise to Demetrius Rendi, or rather the confirmation of his Catalan citizenship, may be found in Lampros, *Eggrapha*, part IV, doc. 94, pp. 342-343, and in the *Diplomatari*, doc. CCLXIX, pp. 353-354, misdated 1366.

to "consider the true fealty and the sincere loyalty of the notary Demetrius Rendi, citizen of our city of Athens, who has persevered in service, good faith, and loyalty toward our royal majesty, and with all his power and strength has maintained and defended the said territory of the duchies ... against our mortal enemies, and yet, as our majesty has been informed, ... the said notary Demetrius Rendi has sustained affliction and anxiety in the castle of Megara when it was taken by our enemies." Demetrius's young brother-in-law and adopted son John Rendi shared with him all the benefits of enfranchisement, and the king confirmed Demetrius's title to the property which the deceased Constantine Calochini had possessed in Athens, and which had reverted to the fisc upon his death. Frederick III had conferred this property on Demetrius between 1375 and 1377 after Rendi's valiant but vain defense of Megara against Nerio Acciajuoli. Finally, Peter IV bestowed upon Demetrius and his heirs, "for all time and in perpetuity," the office of chancellor of Athens (*la cancellaria de la dita ciutat de Cetines*), with an annual income of forty gold *diners* payable from the city's tolls and customs duties (*cunierxos et entrades*). Just outside Athens, off a road that runs to Piraeus, the little village of Rendi still stands, preserving the name and memory of the energetic notary Demetrius. The main street leading into the place bears the name St. John Rendi, as does the modernized church, and as one turns the corner into the village, a superb view of the Acropolis and the Parthenon makes it clear that what was once the Rendi family estate is close to the center of historic Athens.

The loyalty of Francis Pons to the Catalan cause at the time of the Navarrese attack gained him and his heirs the Athenian properties of one Peter Colomer, whose alleged treason had led to the confiscation of his possessions by the Crown. Gerard de Rodonella, who with Bishop John Boyl of Megara carried the Athenian petition to the royal court in Catalonia, acquired "all and singly the goods, rights, and possessions whatsoever they were," which had belonged to the late John Conominas in Athens, "the said John having shown himself adept at securing the loss of Thebes as he dealt with Messer Nerio."

The petitioners asked the king to make Peter Balter, who seems to have escaped from the Navarrese after being captured with Galcerán de Peralta, a lifetime grant of "all the scribal offices [*escrivanies*] of the said duchies of Athens and Neopatras." His majesty had to refuse this request, for he had already conferred the rights to all such offices upon the vicar-general, Rocaberti, but the latter was directed to give Peter Balter one such appointment, the income of which should suffice to keep him. Berenguer Orniola and his heirs received the Athenian properties of the late Arguni, obviously a Greek, who must have obtained the Catalan franchise. But Arguni's possessions had

been taken over by the court of the captain in Athens (over which Bellarbre then presided), because he had killed another Greek named Simi, as an extensive dossier in the captain's court made clear.

The Articles of Athens are in a rather haphazard order, and show signs of haste in compilation. After Peter IV had granted Orniola the late Arguni's property, he was finally asked "to turn his eyes toward the noble Don Galcerán de Peralta," whom the Navarrese in Thebes were holding for a higher ransom than the Catalans in Athens could pay. The king was sadly aware of Peralta's captivity, the petitioners were told, and he had instructed Rocaberti to see to his release. Also the refugees from Thebes and other places in the duchy, who had found a temporary haven in Athens, had their rights and titles to property confirmed, for they hoped to return to Thebes and resume possession of their homes when Rocaberti expelled the Navarrese.

As usual in a medieval *magna carta*, the voice of the Church was heard. The petitioners asked for the revocation of the statute or statutes which the Conquistadors had passed decades before "against the soul's true conscience and against the Church of the Catholic faith," and which forbade the faithful to leave the Church "estates, lands, vineyards, as well as other things" or even to free serfs from their harsh bondage to the soil (*e encara que puxen afranquir lurs vilans et vilanes de tota servitut de vilanaige*...). It had hitherto been the Catalan practice to use property bestowed upon the Church, in violation of the statutes of the Company, to maintain or extend the Acropolis fortifications, to which Peralta had given much attention. In rejecting these requests, the king reminded the Catalans in Athens (as we have noted above) that their numbers were sparse, and if they began leaving their possessions to the Church, they would soon lack the men and resources necessary to defend the duchies, "for ecclesiastics are not soldiers, and they are not under the jurisdiction of the lord king." Peter IV said that a like restriction against legacies to the Church obtained in his kingdoms of Valencia and Majorca, but that when Rocaberti arrived in Greece, he would make whatever provisions for the Church were in keeping with the public interest.

The Catalans concluded their petition with a solemn request for the royal pledge to preserve in Athens "the statutes, constitutions, usages, and customs of Barcelona," and never to alienate the ducal dominions in Greece from the sacred Crown of Aragon. To these requests King Peter IV readily gave his assent. The Articles of Athens, formulated perhaps on the Acropolis on May 20, 1380, the king confirmed or modified at Lérida on the following September 1, and he took an oath upon the four gospels always to observe them "in royal good faith." Thereupon Bishop John Boyl of Megara and Gerard de Rodonella, envoys of the Catalans in Athens, solemnly swore the feudal alle-

giance of their principals to the king of Aragon and his successors.¹¹⁰ Ten days later, on September 11, Peter wrote to Bellarbre as castellan of Athens and to the syndics, aldermen, and council of the city that Bishop John Boyl and Rodonella had taken the oath of fealty and done homage, formally making the Catalans in the duchies his vassals and liegemen. He stated that he had acted upon their petitions, as they would learn from other letters he was sending them as well as by word of mouth from their envoys when they returned. He exhorted them to defend the duchies, and promised that within a brief time he would send Rocaberti with forces large enough to guarantee their security and chastise their enemies.¹¹¹

About the beginning of May 1381 clerks in the Aragonese chancery began a special register (Arx. Cor. Aragó, Reg. 1559), to which they gave the title "Ducatus Athenarum et Neopatrie." The first entry lists the episcopal sees in the duchies, and identifies Antonio Ballester as "arcabisbe de Cetines," after which it gives the names of the eighteen feudatories or "nobles principals" in Catalan Greece¹¹² (whose names we shall omit). A dozen documents follow, all dated May 8 and all relating to Greek matters.¹¹³ It was with this register that Rubió i Lluch began (in 1884) the research which first produced the extraordinary history of his countrymen in Athens, Thebes, and Neopatras.¹¹⁴ Of the various texts in the register we may confine our attention here to that part of the first entry which outlines the ecclesiastical organization of the Catalan duchies. There were three provinces – Athens, Thebes, and Neopatras – theoretically under the Latin "patriarch of Constantinople," who usually resided in Negroponte. Many of the Latin bishops were titular, serving the papacy in Avignon or elsewhere but never visiting their sees in Greece. Archbishops and bishops might be elected by the cathedral canons, as at Athens through 1350, and even longer at Daulia.

110. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCXCI, pp. 473-479, and for the order in which the petitions appear in the Articles of Athens, cf. Loenertz, *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, XXV, no. 167, p. 143. John Boyl and Rodonella had arrived in Lérida on August 1, 1380 (*Dipl.*, doc. CCCXC, p. 472). Five weeks after dealing with the Athenian petitions, King Peter IV repeated his prohibition against selling, giving, or bequeathing property or rents to the Church although donations in money might be made (*ibid.*, doc. CDXXXIII, p. 508).

111. *Dipl.*, doc. CDXII, pp. 495-496.

112. *Dipl.*, doc. CDLXXXIX, pp. 547-548. The Aragonese chancery probably received this list in August or September 1380 from the Catalan envoys who appeared at Lérida to swear fealty to the king (cf. Setton, *Catalan Domination*, p. 102).

113. *Dipl.*, docs. CDLXXVIII-CDLXXXVIII, DCCXIII, pp. 539-547, 743-744.

114. See the *Diplomatari*, pròleg, pp. xvii-xviii.

When the pope did not make or confirm an episcopal nomination, the incumbent was not recognized by the Curia Romana; his name was not recorded in the papal registers, and so he is seldom known to us.¹¹⁵ Among those whose names have been preserved, however, the most important are, at Athens, Nicholas Salamon (1328-1351) and the Catalan Franciscan Antonio Ballester (1370-1387); at Thebes, Isnard Tacconi (1326-1342) and Simon Atumano (1366-1380?); and, at Neopatras, the Aragonese Dominican Ferrer d'Abella (1323-1330) and James Masco (1344-1361). Ferrer d'Abella never visited his see; in 1330 he was translated to Mazzara in Sicily and in 1334 to Barcelona; but he continued to administer the revenues of Neopatras until shortly before his death in 1344.¹¹⁶

In the episcopal list of 1380-1381 Antonio Ballester is identified as the archbishop of Athens, with thirteen suffragan bishops, only four of whom, however, held sees located in the Athenian duchy – Megara (which Nerio Acciajuoli had seized in 1374), Daulia, Salona, and Boudonitza. The archbishop of Thebes is said to have had no suffragans under him; in fact, his city had been in Navarrese hands since 1379. The archbishop of Neopatras is said to have had under him only the bishop of Zeitounion.¹¹⁷ To the four bishoprics listed in the Athenian duchy, however, should be added the titular see of Coronea in Boeotia,¹¹⁸ and by 1380 Aegina had also become a bishopric. The Catholic hierarchy in the Catalan states in Greece thus consisted of three archbishops and seven bishops; the Athenian metropolitan (with thirteen suffragans) was, except for the Latin patriarch, the most important prelate in central Greece. Most of them seem to have been grave friars concerned primarily with the routine affairs of their sometimes indigent sees, unlike some of the reverend roisterers who followed the Fourth Crusaders.

From the ecclesiastical organization of the Catalan duchies in Greece, let us turn to the civil administration. The most important administrative

115. Loenertz, "Athènes et Néopatras: Regestes et documents pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique des duchés catalans (1311-1395)," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, XXVIII (1958), 19-20.

116. *Jean XXII (1316-1334): Lettres communes*, X (Paris, 1930), nos. 50991-50992, dated September 28, 1330; cf. Loenertz, *op. cit.*, XXVIII (1958), nos. 47, 89, pp. 39, 48.

117. *Dipl.*, doc. CDLXXXIX, pp. 547-548, but cf. *ibid.*, doc. CCX, pp. 287-288 (placing Zeitounion under the archbishop of Thebes), and doc. CCXI, pp. 289-290 (placing it under the archbishop of Athens).

118. *Dipl.*, doc. CXCI, pp. 248-249, dated September 25, 1346; the hitherto mysterious *ecclesia Carmensis*, or *de Carino*, later *Carminensis* (cf. Setton, *Catalan Domination*, pp. 93-94, note 46) is actually the bishopric of Coronea (*Coroniensis*), as shown by Loenertz, *op. cit.*, XXVIII (1958), 12-13.

officer in the duchies of Athens and Neopatras, as we have had some occasion to observe, was the vicar-general, who was always a great lord. The ducal revenues, unless otherwise provided for, were administered by the vicar-general; they were by and large similar to the royal revenues in Sicily and Catalonia-Aragon. The duke of Athens was guaranteed in the grand enfeoffment of 1312 such rights and perquisites, *mutatis mutandis*, as were due the sovereign ruler "according to the laws of Aragon and the customs of Barcelona."¹¹⁹ There were thus certain crown rents and fees, taxes levied upon the cities and lesser districts, various tolls and imposts, feudal incidents, and the like which before the conquest had belonged to the Burgundian dukes. But one suspects the ducal lands of Athens and Neopatras were rather a source of prestige than of income. To hold the loyalty of subjects so far away and so inclined to independence the duke was obliged to be generous (when he had no alternative) in making grants of lands and revenues, and it is from such documents that we get some knowledge of the ducal-regalian rights. In Thebes the Crown possessed the right to certain ground rents, paid to the fisc each year in wax, from which on June 22, 1361, King Frederick III provided Ferdinand de Zaguda with an annuity.¹²⁰ When candelabra were conspicuous in every church and one climbed the stairs at night by candlelight, wax was a valuable commodity. We have already noted, in one of the royal answers to Berenguer Soler's various petitions in 1362, the existence of a land tax paid annually to the fisc.¹²¹ A half dozen years later (on November 15, 1368) George Clarencianus received a life income of three ounces (of gold) to be paid each year from the profits, revenues, and rights accruing from the Theban tribute in wax.¹²² The sale of wax by the Crown in Thebes seems to have been a virtual or complete monopoly: on April 9, 1375, Frederick III granted to Francis Lunel and his heirs, in compensation for losses suffered for the most part some months before when Megara fell to Nerio Acciajuoli, an income in perpetuity of fifteen ounces of gold, payable from the census in wax, to which

119. *Dipl.*, doc. LIII, p. 68; on the functions of the vicar-general, note doc. CCCLXXIV, pp. 455-456.

120. *Dipl.*, doc. CCXLVI, p. 328; Lampros, *Eggrapha*, part IV, doc. 100, pp. 349-350: "... sibi in tota vita sua totum et integrum jus census seu tributum cere debitum curie nostre pro solo quarundam domorum constructarum in civitate Thebarum" (This is, incidentally, the only reference to new buildings in the duchy of Athens during the Catalan era.)

121. *Dipl.*, doc. CCC, p. 388, properly dated 1362; Lampros, *Eggrapha*, part IV, doc. 2, p. 234: "... soluto jure terragii nostram curiam contingente"

122. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCX, pp. 396-397; Lampros, *Eggrapha*, part IV, doc. 72, p. 313: "... sibi ex nunc in antea in tota scilicet vita sua, uncias tres, anno quolibet, super proventibus, redditibus et juribus census cere civitatis [Thebarum]"

the Armenian colony in Thebes appear to have been especial contributors.¹²³ The terms of the grant to Lunel indicate the Crown also possessed the rights to certain house rents in Thebes. Greeks who accepted Roman Catholicism and thereafter returned to their former faith suffered the confiscation of their property to the Crown.¹²⁴

Most of our documents, emanating from the Sicilian and Aragonese chanceries, relate to the ducal domain, which included the five "municipalities" (*universitates*, in Catalan *universitats*) of 1) Thebes, capital of the Athenian duchy, 2) Athens, 3) Livadia, 4) Siderocastron, and finally 5) Neopatras, capital of the northern duchy to which it gave its name. The corporate bodies of the "citizens" (*cives*) of the municipalities, taken together, prolonged in many ways the concept of the original Company (*exercitus, societas, or universitas Francorum*). An Aragonese document of 1380 refers to the "prelats, barons, universitats del ducat d'Atenes,"¹²⁵ and Loenertz has described the Catalan municipalities in Greece as a "véritable organisation du tiers-état."¹²⁶ The most important local officials in the duchies were the veguer (*vigerius, veguer*), the captain (*capitaneus, capità*), and the castellan (*castellanus, castellà*). The vigeriate and captaincy were properly two different offices, but they were commonly held together. The office of veguer was imported into the Athenian duchy, as it had been into Catalan Sardinia, from the county of Barcelona, where it preserved the name and memory of the old Carolingian vicar (*vicarius*). In medieval Catalonia the *cort de la vegueria* had its own seal,¹²⁷ but there seems to be no evidence that such a small seal was used in the Athenian duchy. The veguers heard both civil and criminal cases. Their functions and jurisdictions in the Athenian duchy may have had some peculiarities unknown to us, since the Company possessed its own Statutes. The documents reveal the names of a number of appointees to the office of veguer in Thebes, Athens, and Livadia, although the territorial extension of these veguerias is not known; it seems rather likely that Neopatras also constituted a vegueria, but no record of appointment to the office of veguer of Neopatras has survived. Much the same functions as those of the veguer, however, were exercised in Neopatras and Siderocastron by the captain, a title and office

123. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCLIV, pp. 440-441: "... ex iuribus censualium debitorum et solvi consuetorum tam per Armenitos degentes in civitate Thebarum ... quam per quoscumque alios habitantes in domibus nostre ducalis curie eiusdem civitatis Thebarum annis singulis in cera ..." Lampros, *Eggrapha*, part IV, docs. 52, p. 291; 53, p. 292; and 57, p. 299.

124. Cf. *Dipl.*, doc. CCLXXIV, pp. 358-359; doc. CCXCII, pp. 380-381; *et alibi*.

125. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCXC, p. 472.

126. Loenertz, *Arch. FF., Praed.*, XXV, 165.

127. Ferràn de Sagarra, *Sigil·lografia catalana*, II (Barcelona, 1922), xvii-xviii.

imported into the Greek states from Sicily, where there were no veguers. In Sicily captains heard both civil and criminal cases, but sometimes only the latter; and when appointment was made in the Greek duchies to the single office of veguer or captain, the veguer apparently still heard both types of cases, but the captain heard only criminal cases, and the captaincy is thus often linked in the documents with cognizance of such cases (*officium capitaneie cum cognicione causarum criminalium*).¹²⁸

Both the veguer and captain were assisted by a council composed of a judge, an assessor, and a notary, all three appointed to their posts by the king.¹²⁹ Although the offices of veguer and captain were in origin, and properly in function, two different offices, they were held in the Athenian duchy by one and the same person, who is called "veguer or captain"¹³⁰ and, less often, "veguer and captain."¹³¹ The functions of the captaincy are rather carefully indicated in the appointment of John de' Bonacolsi as captain of Livadia,¹³² and those of the vigeriate in the appointment of Nicholas de Ardoino as veguer of Thebes.¹³³ The captain and veguer took an oath of fealty to the royal duke, including the promise to exercise his office "faithfully and legally," and he repeated the oath on the gospels before the syndics of the municipality in which he was to discharge his official duties. His term of office was limited to a period of three years, although King Frederick III all too often made appointments to the offices of veguer and captain—and of castellan—"during the good pleasure of our majesty." Against appointments of such indefinite duration the Catalan notables in the Athenian duchy made vigorous protest,

128. *Dipl.*, docs. CCLXIII, pp. 346-347; CCLXXIII, pp. 357-358; CCXCV, pp. 383-384; CCCXXXIII, pp. 420-421. On January 31, 1376, King Frederick III of Sicily appointed John Fadrique, possibly the son of Boniface and grandson of Don Alfonso, to the captaincy of the island of Malta, *officium capitaneie totius insule Melineti cum cognicione causarum criminalium* (*Dipl.*, doc. CCCLVIII, p. 443). On Catalan domination in Malta, note the brief studies of A. Luttrell, in the *Journal of the Faculty of Arts*, Malta University, III-1 (1965), 1-9, and IV-2 (1970), 156-168.

129. Cf. *Dipl.*, doc. CCLXXIII, p. 358.

130. *Dipl.*, docs. CCLXXXI, p. 365; CCLXXXIII, p. 367; CCLXXXVI, p. 371; CCCXXII, p. 410; CCCXXXIX, pp. 427, 428; CCCXLIV, p. 432; CCCXLV, p. 433; CCCXLVI, pp. 433, 434, *et alibi*: *capitaneus sive vigerius, vigerie seu capitaneie officium*.

131. *Dipl.*, doc. CCLXXIII, p. 357, *et alibi*: *officium vigerie et capitaneie*. Both the *and* and *or* forms may occur in the same document (e.g., *Dipl.*, nos. CCCXXXIX, CCCXLI, CCCXLIV).

132. *Dipl.*, doc. CCLXIII, pp. 346-347, dated March 18, 1366. John de' Bonacolsi was appointed castellan of Livadia at the same time (*ibid.*, doc. CCLXII).

133. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCLV, pp. 441-442, dated April 10, 1375; cf., *ibid.*, docs. CCCLII, CCCLVI, CCCLXIV, and CCLXXXIII.

and citizens of lesser rank resented ducal-royal appointments which tended to convert public offices into hereditary fiefs. On occasion the king tried to remove incumbents from posts which they were holding in excess of the three years' limitation of tenure, as in the case of Galcerán de Peralta, who as captain, veguer, and castellan of Athens seemed to be making the Acropolis the center of his own barony, to which "certain nobles" were taking marked exception.¹³⁴ It is sometimes hard to determine from these documents what Frederick III really wanted, for he often had to yield to the pressure to which he was constantly subjected.

The office of castellan, which was comparable in importance to the offices of veguer and captain, brought with it the responsibility of defending a given castle and commanding its garrison. Some castles in the duchies were granted, as we should expect in a feudal society, as hereditary fiefs. Don Alfonso Fadrique tried, unsuccessfully, to secure the great castle of Neopatras as a personal fief (in 1329?); his son William Fadrique acquired the castle of Stiris as an hereditary fief in June 1366. Don Alfonso had held, and his heirs thus held after him, the castles of Salona, Zeitounion, and Loidoriki. However, the Company looked upon the castles in the larger communities as its own properties although under the nominal administration of the sovereign duke. The Company tried to maintain its rights in the great castles of Athens, Livadia, Neopatras, and Siderocastron, which were said to belong to the "royal domain" (*regium sacrum demanium*), and the king and the Company did not see eye to eye on their custody.¹³⁵ The documents bear witness to castellans in Athens, Livadia, Siderocastron, Neopatras, Salona, and Veteranitza. There was no castellan in the capital city of Thebes, possibly because the great castle on the Cadmea had been destroyed in 1331; perhaps no castellan was needed in the city where both the vicar-general and the marshal of the Company had their residence. The first mention in Barcelonese documents of a "castle of Thebes" (*castrum Destives*) comes as late as October 26, 1400, but it has been suggested that the word *castrum* may mean only a fortified place in this connection, like the Greek *kastron*, and not a castle.¹³⁶ Sometimes the offices of castellan, captain, and veguer were held by a single person – Galcerán de Peralta exercis-

134. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCXLI, pp. 429-430, dated October 4, 1373. On the same day and for the same reason the king tried to remove William de Almenara as captain and veguer of Livadia (*ibid.*, doc. CCCXXXIX, pp. 427-428).

135. *Dipl.*, doc. CCLXXXIX, pp. 374-375, dated 1367, makes it clear that Livadia, Neopatras, and Siderocastron belonged to the royal domain, and doc. CCCXXXIV, p. 422, shows that the castle of Athens did so also.

136. *Dipl.*, doc. DCLXI, p. 687, and cf. Antoine Bon, "Forteresses médiévales de la Grèce centrale," *Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique*, LXI (1937), 188-189.

ed authority both on the Acropolis and in the lower city of Athens as *castellà, capità e veguer del castell e ciutat de Cetines*— and such an appointee thus discharged the chief military, judicial, and civil functions in castle and town where he held office. No differentiation of functions was now necessary or even practicable. This might be convenient; circumstances might require it; but it was clearly injurious to the prerogatives of the crown as it was likely to be to the rights of the citizens. In Livadia, William de Almenara held multiple office just as Peralta did in Athens. The Crown and the “Company” might look askance at such pluralism, but there was little which either could do about it. In the last decades of Catalan rule in Greece the nobles were taking over, and establishing lordships for themselves under the guise of office-holding, rather like the contemporary papal “vicars” in Italy.

The memory of the Catalan domination of Athens remained long and vivid in Catalonia. The most important result of the expedition of the almogàvares into the Levant and the establishment of the Catalan duchies in Attica, Boeotia, and Thessaly is not the fact that King Peter IV of Aragon was the first western European to recognize the Acropolis as “the most precious jewel in all the world” in a document which the enthusiastic Rubió i Lluch has described as “the most glorious legacy of our domination in continental Greece.”¹³⁷ It goes quite beyond that. The most important consequence of Catalan rule in Athens is the sense of achievement which this exciting chapter in the history of Catalonia has inspired in the countrymen of the Fadriques and the de Llurias. It has also provided a theme of unending fascination to historians.

Of the culture of the Catalan feudatories, however, we know nothing at all, but there is no reason to assume that books were very rare. When Fra Henry, bishop of Salona, was on his way to Catalonia to do homage to Peter IV on behalf of the municipality of Livadia and its captain and castellan, William de Almenara, his ship was stopped by four Genoese galleys, which robbed him not only of money, clothes, and valuable jewels, but of books.¹³⁸ On one occasion, when John Boyl, titular bishop of Megara, wished to hire two mules for a journey through Phocis with bishop Matthew of Neopatras, he borrowed from a Greek money lender named Peter Moscho twenty gold ducats, in return for which he was obliged to pawn “a box full of books.”¹³⁹

137. *Los Catalanes en Grecia* (1927), p. 121, *et alibi* in Rubió's works: *Dipl.*, doc. CDIV, p. 491, dated September 11, 1380; *Los Navarros en Grecia* (1886), doc. XX, p. 233.

138. *Dipl.*, doc. DXII, p. 563, dated May 9, 1382, and referring to events of two years earlier: “diners, robes, libres, e joyes DC ducats d or.”

139. *Dipl.*, doc. CDIII, pp. 490-491, dated September 10, 1380: “una caxa plena de libres.”

Unfortunately we have no lists of either the books which Fra Henry lost or those which John Boyl pawned. But apparently the possession of books did not move either worthy to write a book, and no Catalan after Muntaner has left us a contemporary account of the affairs of his countrymen in Greece. We must get the facts and construct the narrative from surviving documents.

Thus we cannot say how much of the Theban Jewish colony, estimated by Benjamin of Tudela to comprise about two thousand persons in the middle of the twelfth century, remained in Thebes some two hundred years later. I think that the colony had dwindled to a small number, and Benjamin's estimate may well have been inflated in the first place, but one important association of Thebes with Hebrew studies in the Catalan era has been made, very convincingly, by Cardinal (then Msgr.) Giovanni Mercati in his learned study of Simon Atumano, archbishop of Thebes (1366-1380?). Benjamin of Tudela observed that the Jewish colony in Thebes contained, among its learned rabbis, some of the best authorities on the Mosaic law and on rabbinical texts that he found on his travels in the Levant. Archbishop Simon Atumano seems to have prepared at least part of his *Biblia Triglotta* (a Bible in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin) – almost a century and a half before the appearance of the Complutensian Polyglot – during the later years of his residence in Catalan Thebes.¹⁴⁰ Jewish scholars must often have been consulted by Simon in the archiepiscopal palace at Thebes, where the previous occupant had been Paulus (1357-1366), sometime bishop of Smyrna and later Latin patriarch of Constantinople, whose doctrinal learning and adroitness in disputation won the high esteem of Nicephorus Gregoras, who was not easily moved to admiration.¹⁴¹ If the

140. Msgr. Giovanni Mercati, *Se la Versione dall' ebraico del codice Veneto Greco VII sia di Simone Atumano, arcivescovo di Tebe* (Rome, 1916), pp. 15-17, 19, 30-32, 41-42, with a brief biography of Archbishop Simon, pp. 26 ff., and some new documents, pp. 47 ff. Cf. Setton, *Catalan Domination*, p. 222, and see in general G. Fedalto, *Simone Atumano, monaco di studio, arcivescovo latino di Tebe* (Brescia, 1968). Although Mercati believes that the Jewish colony in Thebes must have increased in numbers from the twelfth to the fourteenth century, this would seem to be highly improbable in view of the fact there is no mention of Jews in the many Catalan documents relating to the Athenian duchy. The French physician and traveler Jacob Spon remarks that there were no Jews in seventeenth-century Athens (*Voyage* [The Hague, 1680 and 1689], II, 136; ed. Amsterdam, 1679, II, 180).

141. Nicephorus Gregoras, XXIX, 55 ff. (Bonn, III, 262 ff.): "... σοφίας ἔμπειρος ὁπόση καὶ οἷα τὴν τῶν Λατίνων οἰκείουται σχολὴν ἐν δογματικαῖς τῶν θεῶν γραμμάτων διατριβαῖς..." Gregoras does not mention Paulus by name, but the identification is certain (cf. ed. Bonn, I, pp. xxxvii - xxxviii; Mercati, *Simone Atumano*, pp. 30-31, note; Rubió i Lluch, *Homenaje a D. Carmelo de Echegaray*, pp. 370, 382). From Smyrna (1345-1357) Paulus was translated to Thebes, and hence to the Latin patriarchate (1366-1370), when he presumably resided at Negroponte (C. Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi*, I [1913, repr.

Catalan atmosphere did not stifle Latin learning, it clearly did not provide a stimulating environment for Greek intellectuals. Thus only two Greek manuscripts are listed by Lampros as having been copied in Athens during the Catalan era, and both of them during the relatively peaceful fourth decade of the century.¹⁴²

Catalan Athens, we have noted, was a small city. When, however, the Westphalian priest Ludolf of Sudheim, who made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land (in 1336-1341) but did not stop at Athens, says that it was "civitas quondam... nobilissima, sed nunc quasi deserta," he is obviously exaggerating.¹⁴³ The olive groves and vineyards were important, but oil was cheap in the Mediterranean, and Athenian wine was poor. Although the Catalans were traders, the Venetians always prevented the development of Piraeus as a shipping center. Athens was bound to remain small. The fourteenth century is well known for its plagues, and physicians were notably lacking in the Athenian duchy. Thus on February 8, 1356, King Frederick III of Sicily wrote the municipal government of Thebes, the capital of the duchy, that it was public knowledge "that the aforesaid city suffers from the lack and absence of physicians skilled in the art of surgery and also of medicine." The king stated that he was therefore allowing Master John of Montpellier, who had long served the Sicilian court as a physician, to go to Thebes with his family to exercise among the Catalans overseas his precious arts of surgery and medicine. Whether Frederick changed his mind or Master John decided not to venture so far afield, would be hard to say, but the letter is canceled in the register of the royal prothonotary, and Master John almost certainly never got to Thebes.¹⁴⁴

1960], 206, 456, 482). Paulus played a prominent rôle in the Crusade of Amadeo VI, the Green Count of Savoy, and in the negotiations for church union in 1366-1367 (see Oskar Halecki, *Un Empereur de Byzance à Rome*, Warsaw, 1930, pp. 141-162).

142. Sp. P. Lampros, 'Αθηναῖοι βιβλιογράφοι καὶ κτήτορες κωδίκων κατὰ τοὺς μέσους αἰῶνας καὶ ἐπὶ Τουρκοκρατίας (reprinted from *Parnassos*; Athens, 1902), no. 3, pp. 15-16, MS. no. 155, dated 1337, Biblioteca Comunale, Ferrara, containing in part the works of Theocritus, Pindar, and Hesiod, and no. 4, pp. 16-18, MS. Paris. gr. 2243, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, containing the medical works of Nicholas Myrepsius, Dioscorides, Oribasius, and similar material (see Henri Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, part II [Paris, 1888], no. 2243, p. 220, who does not indicate the Athenian origin of the MS., which is dated 1339). Cf. Setton, *Catalan Domination*, pp. 223-224.

143. Ludolf de Sudheim (Suchem), *De itinere terrae sanctae liber*, chap. 17, ed. Ferdinand Deycks, *Bibliothek des litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*, XXV (1851), 23.

144. Archivio di Stato di Palermo, Protonotaro, Reg. 2, fol. 147^v, published by Giuseppe Cosentino, ed., *Codice diplomatico di Federico III di Aragona, re di Sicilia*, I (Palermo, 1885), doc. CXXXV, pp. 112-113, with note concerning the cancellation, and cf. *Diplomatari*, doc. CCXXVI, p. 301, and Lampros, *EGgrapha*, part IV, doc. 61, p. 303.

In any event he must have found in Sicily more disease than he could handle.

In the fourteenth century Athens probably resembled in size and appearance the Turkish city of the seventeenth century, familiar to us from numerous contemporary drawings and from the accounts of Fr. Jacques Babin (1672), Francis Vernon (1675), Jacob Spon (1676), and George Wheler (1676). The German traveler Johann Georg Transfeldt, who visited Athens about the same time as his more famous French and English confrères (1674-1675), and spent more than a year there, informs us that the Tower of the Winds was in the center of the lower city of his day, "in umbilico modernarum Athenarum."¹⁴⁵ This means, of course, that the lower city was huddled in a circlet of walls under the north and northeast slopes of the Acropolis.¹⁴⁶ Although there is only one mention of new buildings in documents of the Catalan period in the Athenian duchy – and even that in the city of Thebes,¹⁴⁷ one very important and conspicuous structure was built during the period of Latin rule in Athens, the so-called "Frankish Tower," which, with the Parthenon, dominates all the early drawings and the first photographs of the Acropolis until it was demolished in 1874, with Schliemann's aid, by the Greek Archaeological Society.¹⁴⁸ It was a grave mistake to take it down without reërecting it elsewhere on less hallowed ground. No certain date can be assigned to the Frankish Tower, which has been attributed to the Burgundians, the Catalans, the Venetians, the Florentines, and even to the Turks. But now it is gone, and we shall never be sure who built it.

145. Ad. Michaelis, "I. G. Transfeldts *Examen reliquiarum antiquitatum Atheniensium*," *Mittheilungen des deutschen archaologischen Instituts in Athen*, I (Athens, 1876), 115; Curt Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen im Alterthum*, I (Leipzig, 1874), 70-71.

146. For a fuller discussion, see Setton, *Catalan Domination*, pp. 225-241.

147. *Dipl.*, doc. CCXLVI, p. 328; Lampros, *Eggrapha*, part IV, doc. 100, p. 350, dated June 22, 1361: "... quaedam domus constructae in civitate Thebarum ..." (syntax adapted).

148. See the interesting letters of Schliemann dated July 2, 1874 (the day on which demolition of the Tower was begun), in Ernst Meyer, ed., *Heinrich Schliemann: Briefwechsel*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1953-1958), I, nos. 245, 246, pp. 267-268, and cf. no. 247, p. 269, to King George I of Greece, dated mid-July 1874. According to Schliemann, the imposing structure, "known as the Venetian Tower, which seems to have been built in the fourteenth century," occupied 1600 square feet of the Propylaea. It was built (he said) of large square slabs of marble or common stone which came from various ancient monuments on the Acropolis and from the theater of Herodes Atticus. The Tower was 80 feet high (he said), and the walls were five feet thick. The demolition cost Schliemann £465 (12,000 francs), and he had for three years the first right of publication of any inscriptions found. The Athenians were delighted that the Tower was coming down; the owls who lived in it were vastly distressed, but he observed that "it is impossible to please everyone in the world."

The extant texts and documents shed little light on the life of the Greek people during the more than a century of Burgundian rule in Attica and Boeotia, but during the shorter period of Catalan domination Rubió i Lluch declares that "we see the whole Greek people moving before our eyes in all their walks and conditions of life."¹⁴⁹ He has also emphasized that when in 1331 Walter II of Brienne, son and heir of the last French duke of Athens, sought to regain his inheritance by force of arms, in the guise of a crusade blessed by the pope, "no Greek raised a finger to throw off the Catalan yoke." But of Catalan brutality in the early days of the conquest there can be no question. Rubió himself acknowledges that in 1311 the Burgundian capital of Thebes "was sacked inhumanly by the conquerors,"¹⁵⁰ while the memory of their terrible march from Gallipoli westward through Thrace and Macedonia in 1307-1308 persisted in Thrace even into modern times. The Catalan Grand Company was composed almost entirely of mercenaries; they were far from home, fearful of their safety, and always on the lookout for gain. The very name Catalan was apparently used for centuries as a term of reproach in Thessaly and Euboea, Attica and Boeotia, Albania, Acarnania, and the Morea.¹⁵¹ But of course the Grand Company was not solely responsible for the formidable reputation which the Catalans acquired in Greece, for throughout the later middle ages (as we have seen) Catalan pirates and slave-raiders infested the Aegean. The Catalan family of the Caupenas remained as lords of Aegina until 1451, when the childless Antonello bequeathed the island to Venice,¹⁵² and therewith the last vestige of Catalan rule in the Levant came to an end. But Catalan pirates seemed to be everywhere, and the Venetians looked with hostile eyes upon Catalan merchants as well as corsairs in eastern waters.¹⁵³ A Catalan pirate named Lupo de Bertagna was the terror of the Aegean in the 1450's,¹⁵⁴ and is said to have occupied Monemvasia for a

149. *Deltion*, new series, I (1928), 83-84, and cf. *Byzantion*, II (1925-1926), 195.

150. *La Població de la Grècia catalana* (1933), p. 16, cf. p. 18.

151. See Setton, *Catalan Domination*, pp. 247-249, for a full discussion.

152. Arch. di Stato di Venezia, Deliberazioni Mar, Reg. 4, fol. 80^v, dated August 2, 1451.

153. Mar, Reg. 3, fol. 161^v, dated February 10, 1450: "Cathellani hostes nostri" On September 28, 1450, the Senate complained to the grand master of Rhodes that the preceding March a Venetian merchantman with a cargo worth 15,000 ducats had been seized by two ships from Barcelona and sold with all its cargo at Rhodes to Rhodians and Genoese (Mar, Reg. 4, fol. 6^v). Constant vigilance was required against Catalan enterprise in the Levant (*ibid.*, fols. 10^v-11^r, 11^v-12^r, 13).

154. Cf. Mar, Reg. 1, fol. 122^v, dated September 14, 1452: "Quia quidam Luppus Cathellanus, qui se nutrit cum quadam sua fusta in aquis Nigropontis, intulit maximum damnum quibusdam nostris civibus auferendo de quadam griparia pannos multos non pauci valoris, mandetur ... capitaneo [culphi] quod si in hac via sua reperiret eundo vel redeundo illum

while in 1460.¹⁵⁵

While we do learn something from the documents published in Rubió i Lluch's *Diplomatari* of the condition of the native Greek population in fourteenth-century Attica and Boeotia, our knowledge remains very slender. The Athenian Metropolitan Michael Choniates has left us ample evidence, in his letters and homilies, of the poverty and ignorance of his flock in the later twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. The Greeks were doubtless worse off under the Burgundians; they probably fared somewhat better during the Catalan era after the initial shock of the conquest; and if their lot improved through the early years of Florentine rule, the Turkish menace also increased until they finally fell under the Ottoman sway.¹⁵⁶

The medieval eupatrid families of whom Michael Choniates complained in the twelfth century, and who were to come back into view in the fifteenth century under the Florentines and under the Turks, play no discernible part in the history of fourteenth-century Athens. This is, I think, one of the most astonishing facts in the history of Catalan Athens. Were all such families dispossessed at the conquest? If so, how were they reestablished in the fifteenth century? Perhaps some of their members were among the Greeks who served side by side with Catalans on town councils in Athens and Neopatras, and very likely elsewhere, like the δημογέροντες or elders of Florentine and Turkish times.¹⁵⁷ Greeks were sometimes employed by the Catalans as soldiers, and Rendi at Megara in 1374 and at Athens in 1379, Mitro and Dimitri (who may, however, have been Albanians)¹⁵⁸ at Stiris in 1379, Nicholas de Mauro-Nichola, and his son Constantine in 1379, all distinguished themselves by their warlike efforts on behalf of the Catalan Company, chiefly against the invading Navarrese.

But most of the Greeks who appear in Catalan documents, several hun-

Luppum procurare debeat recuperandi ab eo mercationes nostrorum... ."

155. Stefano Magno, *Annali Veneti*, ed. Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes* (Berlin, 1873), pp. 203-204.

156. Cf. Setton, *Catalan Domination*, pp. 255-256.

157. The king of Aragon addresses "los síndichs e prohomens e universitat de Cetines [Athens], axi Franchs com Grechs" and "los capità, castellà, prohomens, síndichs e consell Franchs e Grechs de la Patria:" see Rubió i Lluch, "Els Castells catalans en la Grècia continental," *Anuari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans*, II (1908), 403; *Byzantion*, II (1925-1926), 220-221; and *La Població de la Grècia catalana* (1933), p. 29; cf. *Diplomatari*, doc. CDLIX, p. 527, *et alibi*, "axi Franchs com Grechs," and doc. CCCXCV, p. 486, a grant made by King Peter IV on September 9, 1380, to the Catholic clergy in the duchies of Athens and Neopatras and to their flocks "both Frankish and Greek" (*et subditis eorundem tam Franchis quam Graecis*).

158. Lcenertz, *Arch. FF. Praed.*, XXV, nos. 184, 189, pp. 147, 148.



dred of which are extant from the Catalan period, as compared to a few dozens from the Florentine period, are serfs and lesser bourgeois, usually nameless. The Catalan is very clearly seen to be a member of a race apart, one of the Conquistadors. This was far less true of the Florentine, but the reason is not far to seek. Athens was not occupied by an Italian Company, and Italians, despite the best efforts of Antonio I Acciajuoli to attract them to Athens and Thebes, were never to be numerous. The later fourteenth and the earlier fifteenth centuries would be marked by a great upsurge of the Hellenic spirit, an increased ethnic awareness that was to maintain the character of Greece as a nation and of the Greeks as a people through almost four centuries of Turkish rule. This new spirit, fostered and guided by the Greek Church, would put a strong weapon in the hands of the Greek archontic families. The Chalcocondylae were to be important in Athens in the third and fourth decades of the fifteenth century as no Greek family could have been a century before.¹⁵⁹ The renaissance at Mistra provides clear evidence of this phenomenon.

Throughout the 1380's, the balance of power was tilting gradually but irreversibly against the Catalans and in favor of the Florentine Nerio Acciajuoli. Despite the best efforts of the Catalan commander Peter de Pau and his compatriots, who received little help from King John I of Aragon, by May 1388 they could no longer withstand Nerio's unrelenting pressure on the Acropolis. The Florentine forces took the citadel on May 2, 1388, as plague ravaged citizens and soldiers alike.¹⁶⁰ The history of the last years of Catalan domination in Attica and Boeotia is traced in some detail in the next chapter (VI), where an account is also given of the following seven decades during which the Acciajuoli held the Acropolis and the Cadmea, until the Turkish occupation of Athens in 1456 and of Thebes in 1460.

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159. The learned monograph of Dem. Gr. Kampouroglous, *The Chalkokondylai* (in Greek; Athens, 1926), makes clear that the family fortunes of the Chalcocondylae were founded shortly after the Catalan era in Athens.

160. *Dipl.*, doc. DCXXII, pp. 652-653; Lampros, *Eggrapha*, part II, doc. 10, p. 119, a letter written on May 9, 1388, by one Jacopo da Prato from Patras to Nerio Acciajuoli's brother Donato in Florence.

VI

THE CATALANS AND FLORENTINES IN GREECE 1380-1462

During the last decade of Catalan rule in the Athenian duchy (1379-1388) the Aragonese chancery issued almost 250 documents relating to Greek affairs. The number attests the royal concern with such affairs, as well as the fortunate survival of the Archives of the Crown in Barcelona. As the shock of the Navarrese invasion subsided, a parliament was assembled in Athens to which were summoned the syndics, aldermen, and council of the municipal corporation. This parliament prepared a petition, dated May 20, 1380, for submission to king Peter IV, who by accepting or rejecting its terms would determine the conditions under which the chief officers and citizens of Athens would become the vassals of the crown of Aragon. Rubió i Lluch has called this important document the "Articles of Athens" (*els Capítols d'Athenes*); of the sixteen or seventeen items which it contains, only four or five relate to the common concerns of the state and the community. The remaining dozen items consist of personal requests which seem to show small understanding of the perilous condition to which the duchy of Athens had been reduced; the parliament at Athens was anxious to secure rewards from the crown for those who had proved their loyalty by resisting the Navarrese invasion.

The parliament was under the dominance of Romeo de Bellarbre, castellan and captain of Athens, and Galcerán of Peralta had become merely "our former governor" as he languished in his Theban prison. The petitioners' first request of Peter IV was that he send them a proper "official" to govern the duchies, one who could reconquer

the lands which the Navarrese had seized. Peter was to answer, when he ratified or rejected the various articles of the petition at Lerida on the following September 1, that he was sending Philip Dalmau, viscount of Rocaberti, as his vicar-general to Greece, and that Dalmau would be accompanied by forces strong enough to restore the territorial integrity of the duchies and reëstablish a peaceful life within them. When preparing their petition in May, however, the Catalans had informed the king that if he could not immediately send them the strong governor they needed, they would be pleased to have "as our official and governor of Athens the most honored Don Romeo de Bellarbre, who knows the desperate conditions in the said city and the poverty and anxiety of its people." Indeed, they had hoped it would please his majesty to give Bellarbre a lifetime appointment to the post. Peter replied that he had conferred upon Dalmau all the offices in the two duchies, both castellanies and captaincies, but he did bestow upon Bellarbre a lifetime command of the Acropolis as well as certain estates confiscated from those who had been guilty of treachery during the Navarrese invasion. Bellarbre's Greek mistress, Zoe of Megara, by whom he had had children, was granted the Catalan franchise with the customary rights of acquiring and disposing of property.¹

The petitioners sought king Peter's approval of the agreements which we have seen made (about 1376-1377) "between the magnificent Don Louis of Aragon, the vicar [general], and the municipalities of Thebes and Livadia on the one hand and, on the other, the noble Don Galcerán of Peralta, formerly the governor of Athens, together with the said city of Athens . . .," agreements which had established the virtual independence of Athens. But Peter realized that if the magnates had not been quarreling among themselves in the period just before the Navarrese attacks, they might have successfully defended Thebes, and so he refused the request. All divisions and dissensions of times past must cease, he said, and Dalmau must rule as vicar-general over the united duchies.

The Articles of Athens also affirmed the long dedication of the Greek notary Demetrius Rendi to the *sacra corona d'Aragó*, request-

1. The text of the Articles of Athens may be found in Rubió i Lluch, *Los Navarros en Grecia* (Barcelona, 1886), doc. XXXII, pp. 241-251, and in the *Diplomatari*, doc. CCCXC1, pp. 473-479. At Lerida on September 1, 1380, king Peter IV also confirmed the requests contained in the "Articles of Salona," which had been prepared on May 31, 1380, on behalf of Louis Fadrique, lord of Salona and count of Malta. The Articles of Salona are still extant (Rubíó, *Los Navarros*, doc. XXXIX, pp. 256-259, and *Dipl.*, doc. CCCXCII, pp. 480-482). Cf. in general Setton, *Catalan Domination*, pp. 158-164, and Loenertz, *Arch. FF. Praed.*, XXV, nos. 167-172, 175-177, pp. 143-145, 171-172.

ing the same rights and privileges for him “as for all the other Conquistadors of the said duchies of Athens and Neopatras.” The Articles as extant contain the Catalan text of king Peter’s renewal of the full franchise which Frederick III had granted Rendi years before (on July 29, 1362) when Rendi, his sons, daughters, and descendants received the right to retain their Orthodox faith and at the same time to contract marriage with Latin Catholics, notwithstanding statutes which the Company had enunciated to the contrary. With the franchise went the usual right to buy, sell, alienate, and exchange at will both movable and immovable goods “just like the Frankish inhabitants of the aforesaid city [of Athens].”² The king now directed his officials everywhere in the duchies to “consider the true fealty and the sincere loyalty of the notary Demetrius Rendi, citizen of our city of Athens, who has persevered in service, good faith, and loyalty toward our royal majesty, and with all his power and strength has maintained and defended the said territory of the duchies . . . against our mortal enemies, and yet, as our majesty has been informed, . . . the said notary Demetrius Rendi has sustained affliction and anxiety in the castle of Megara when it was taken by our enemies.” Demetrius’s young brother-in-law and adopted son John Rendi shared with him all the benefits of enfranchisement, and Peter confirmed Demetrius’s title to the property which the deceased Constantine Calochini had possessed in Athens, and which had reverted to the fisc upon his death. Frederick III had conferred this property on Demetrius between 1375 and 1377 after Rendi’s valiant but vain defense of Megara against Nerio Acciajuoli. Finally, the king bestowed upon Demetrius and his heirs, “for all time and in perpetuity,” the office of chancellor of Athens, with an annual income of forty gold *diners* payable from the city’s tolls and customs duties. Just outside Athens, off a road that runs to Piraeus, the little village of Rendi still stands, preserving the name and memory of the energetic notary Demetrius. As one turns the corner into the village, a superb view of the Acropolis and the Parthenon makes it clear that what was once the Rendi family estate, conceivably Constantine Calochini’s own property, is close to the center of historic Athens.

The Articles of Athens are in a rather haphazard order, and show signs of haste in compilation. After the king had made some further grants of property he was finally asked “to turn his eyes toward the noble Don Galcerán of Peralta,” whom the Navarrese in Thebes were

2. The grant of July 29, 1362, of the franchise to Demetrius Rendi, or rather the confirmation of his Catalan citizenship, may be found in Lampros, *Eggrapha* (1906), part IV, doc. 94, pp. 342–343, and in *Dipl.*, doc. CCLXIX, pp. 353–354, misdated 1366.

holding for a higher ransom than the Catalans in Athens could pay. Peter was sadly aware of Peralta's captivity, the petitioners were told, and he had instructed Dalmau to see to his release. Also the refugees from Thebes and other places in the duchy, who had found a temporary haven in Athens, had their rights and titles to property confirmed, for they hoped to return to Thebes and resume possession of their homes when Dalmau expelled the Navarrese.

As usual in a medieval *magna carta*, the voice of the church was heard. The petitioners asked for the revocation of the statute or statutes which the Conquistadors had passed decades before "against the soul's true conscience and against the church of the Catholic faith," and which forbade the faithful to leave to the church "estates, lands, vineyards, as well as other things" or even to free serfs from their harsh bondage to the soil. It had hitherto been the Catalan practice to use property bestowed upon the church, in violation of the statutes of the Company, to maintain or extend the Acropolis fortifications, to which Peralta had given much attention. In rejecting this request, the king reminded the Catalans in Athens that their numbers were sparse, and that if they began leaving their possessions to the church, they would soon lack the men and resources necessary to defend the duchies, "for ecclesiastics are not soldiers, and they are not under the jurisdiction of the lord king." Peter said that when Dalmau arrived in Greece, he would make whatever provisions for the church were in keeping with the public interest.

The Catalans concluded their petition with a solemn request for the royal pledge to preserve in Athens "the statutes, constitutions, usages, and customs of Barcelona," and never to alienate the ducal dominions in Greece from the sacred Crown of Aragon. To these requests Peter readily gave his assent (*plau al senyor rey*). The Articles of Athens, formulated perhaps on the Acropolis on May 20, 1380, were thus confirmed or modified at Lerida on the following September 1, and Peter took an oath upon the four gospels always to observe them "in royal good faith." Thereupon bishop John Boyl of Megara and Gerard (Guerau) de Rodonella, envoys of the Catalans in Athens, solemnly swore the feudal allegiance of their principals to the king of Aragon and his successors.³ Ten days later, on September 11, Peter wrote to Bellarbre as castellan of Athens and to the syndics, aldermen, and council of the city that bishop John Boyl and

3. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCXCI, pp. 473-479, and for the order in which the petitions appear in the Articles of Athens, cf. Loenertz, *Arch. FF. Praed.*, XXV, no. 167, p. 143. John Boyl and Rodonella had arrived in Lerida on August 1, 1380 (*Dipl.*, doc. CCCXC, p. 472). Five weeks after dealing with the Athenian petitions, Peter IV repeated his prohibition against selling,

Rodonella had taken the oath of fealty and done homage, formally making the Catalans in the duchies his vassals and liegemen. He exhorted them to defend the duchies, and promised that within a brief time he would send Dalmau with forces large enough to guarantee their security and chastise their enemies.⁴

The loss of Thebes rankled in the king's mind. He seems to have thought that Urtubia and the Navarrese were still somehow under the control of the Hospital, and he cautioned the grand master and his commanders against any further attacks upon his Greek dominions. Indeed, he told them that they had better set about undoing the damage they had done, and that they could start by securing the release of Galcerán of Peralta, who had been captured in a vain attempt to defend Thebes.⁵ Peter had doubtless derived his knowledge of conditions in Greece from John Boyl and Rodonella, who had told him what they knew (or wanted him to know) about the loss of Thebes. They also told him who had kept faith with the Catalan cause and who had failed it. John Boyl obviously made a very favorable impression upon the king, who wrote on his behalf to Dalmau, the new vicar-general: "... We wish that our honored father in Christ Fra John Boyl, bishop of Megara, should receive the archbishopric of Thebes, and in fact we have written to the holy father [Urban VI] that he should remove the present incumbent [Simon Atumano] and give the archbishopric to the said bishop. In the meantime we also want the said bishop to have the movable and immovable goods which belonged to Don Oliverio Domingo, by whose work the city of Thebes was lost, and it was through no fault of his that the city and castle of Athens did not rebel..." John Boyl should continue to receive, Peter said, the annual income of twenty-four gold ducats accruing from the chapel of St. Bartholomew in the palace of the castle of Athens, *la capella de sant Berthomeu del palau del castell de Cetines*, as well as the additional allotment which he had been receiving for himself and his two servitors.⁶ In exchanging Megara for Thebes, John Boyl would merely be giving up one titular see for another, and until the Catalans

giving, or bequeathing property or rents to the church, although donations in money might be made (*ibid.*, doc. CDXXXIII, p. 508).

4. *Dipl.*, doc. CDXII, pp. 495–496.

5. *Dipl.*, docs. CCCXCVIII, CD, pp. 488, 489, dated September 10, 1380.

6. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCXCVI, pp. 486–487 (also dated September 10, 1380), and on the confiscation of Oliverio Domingo's property and that of others, whose "bens son confiscats a la cort per lo crim... comés en la perdicó de la ciutat d'Estives," see also, *ibid.*, doc. CDXXIV, pp. 502–503. The ducal palace on the Acropolis was built into the Propylaea, and the lines of the chapel may still be seen east of the so-called Pinakothekē.

could recover the Cadmea, obviously his grace needed an income.

Urtubia had apparently had much assistance in the occupation of Thebes, for the documents name several traitors "by whose work the city was lost." John Boyl and Rodonella would seem to have come to Lerida with a proscription list, and who can say whether malice added names? In any event Peter IV wrote pope Urban VI (on September 11, 1380) accusing archbishop Simon Atumano of Thebes, one of the great scholars of the time, of complicity in the Navarrese capture of the city: "Most holy father: We are assured that owing to the machinations and efforts of the archbishop of the city of Thebes—which together with other cities, castles, and places in the duchies of Athens and Neopatras now belong to our dominion—the said city was captured by our enemies, and even now is being held by them on the advice of the archbishop himself."⁷

The king repeated his request for the transference to the Theban see of bishop John Boyl, "who has suffered many ills in his own person for the defense of Christians." In two other letters of the same date (September 11) he asked, first, that John Boyl be appointed apostolic legate in the duchies of Athens and Neopatras as well as in the neighboring provinces of Romania (which would have meant the virtual displacement of archbishop Antonio Ballester of Athens as vicar of the so-called patriarchate of Constantinople), and secondly, that the interdict be lifted from the newly acquired dominions of Aragon in Greece.⁸

Since the royal letters of early September 1380 refer more than once to John Boyl's discourse in audiences with Peter IV, we may safely assume that the lively bishop of Megara told his attentive sovereign a good deal about the monumental beauty of Athens. The talks were not lost on Peter, and when John Boyl requested a guard of ten or a dozen men-at-arms for the Acropolis, the king ordered the treasurer of Aragon to provide twelve well-equipped archers for four months, by which time (he said) he should have sent Dalmau to Greece. A proper watch was necessary on the Acropolis, "especially as the said castle is the richest jewel there is in the world and such that all the kings of Christendom could not create its equal."⁹ This

7. *Dipl.*, doc. CDVI, pp. 492–493. On Simon Atumano, see Giovanni Mercati, *Se la Versione dall' ebraico del codice veneto greco VII sia di Simone Atumano, arcivescovo di Tebe: Ricerca storica con notizie e documenti sulla vita dell' Atumano* (Studi e testi, no. 30; Rome, 1916); Giorgio Fedalto, *Simone Atumano, monaco di studio, arcivescovo latino di Tebe, [nel] secolo XIV* (Brescia, 1968); and K. M. Setton, "The Byzantine Background to the Italian Renaissance," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, C (1956), 47–52, reprinted in his *Europe and the Levant . . .*, no. 1. Simon Atumano was appointed archbishop of Thebes by Urban V.

8. *Dipl.*, docs. CDVI–CDVIII, pp. 493–494.

9. *Dipl.*, doc. CDIV, p. 491, dated September 11, 1380: "... majorment con lo dit

text, hidden for five centuries in an Aragonese archival register, is probably the first aesthetic description of the Acropolis after a millennium of silence in western sources.

As John Boyl and Rodonella conveyed the “Articles of Athens” to the king at Lerida (and swore fealty for the municipality), so Bernard Ballester presented the petitions of Louis Fadrique, as well as those of the worried citizens of Livadia and the refugees from Thebes, to whom Louis was still giving shelter in the fastness of Salona.¹⁰ King Peter IV knew Ballester well, for he had come to Barcelona a year before, as we have seen, bringing the first official news of the Navarrese capture of Thebes, and had then served as the royal envoy to the duchies upon his return to Greece.¹¹ He must have received a cordial welcome, not merely because he had come to swear fealty for his principals, but because he had first organized baronial support for Peter’s acquisition of the duchies. Ballester now received no niggardly reward “for the service which he had done us in securing for us the cession of the duchies of Athens and Neopatras,” because on September 25 (1380) the king granted him 4,000 gold florins of Aragon from the revenues of the royal third of the tithe of the city of Jativa and its territory, to be paid in annual instalments of 4,000 *solidi* until Ballester had received the full amount.¹²

On April 28, 1381, the king reaffirmed the appointment of Philip Dalmau, viscount of Rocaberti, as his vicar, viceroy, and lieutenant in

castell sia la pus richa joya qui al mont [i.e., món] sia, e tal que entre tots los reys de cristians envides lo porien fer semblant.” Cf. Gregorovius (trans. Lampros), *History of the City of Athens* [in Greek], II (1904), 194–195; Rubió i Lluch, “Significació de l’elogi de l’Acròpolis d’Atenes pel Rei Pere’l Ceremoniós,” in the *Homenaje ofrecido a [D. Ramón] Menéndez Pidal* (Madrid, 1925), III, 37–56, and *Los Catalanes en Grecia* (Madrid, 1927), pp. 131–137; Setton, *Catalan Domination*, pp. 187–188. On the dispatch of the twelve archers from Catalonia to Athens, see *Dipl.*, doc. CDXXVII, p. 505, dated September 29, and docs. CDXXVIII–CDXXXI, CDXXXV, pp. 505–507, 509, dated October 5, 6, and 11, 1380.

10. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCXCII, p. 481.

11. Cf. *Dipl.*, docs. CCCLXXV, CCCLXXVI, CCCLXXXI–CCCLXXXIII, CCCLXXXV, CCCLXXXVI, pp. 457 ff., dated September, October, and November 1379. Ballester had doubtless returned to Catalonia on the same ship as John Boyl and Rodonella, arriving in Lerida on August 1, 1380.

12. *Dipl.*, doc. CDXLI, p. 513, dated February 14, 1381: “. . . e aquesta gracia li havem feta per lo servey que’ns ha fet en fernos donar los ducats de Athenes e de la Patria.” Peter IV made the grant of money to Ballester on September 25, 1380, the dated text being given in the infante Don John’s confirmation of July 10, 1381 (*Dipl.*, doc. DII, pp. 555–556, “datum Ilerde XXV. die Septembris anno . . . MCCCLXXX,” misdated September 28 by Rubió i Lluch, *loc. cit.*, and by Loenertz, *Arch. FF. Praed.*, XXV, no. 185, p. 147). The king is also explicit in this latter document as to Ballester’s service to the Aragonese crown, “ad grata et obsequiosa servitia per vos . . . Bernardum Ballistarii nobis prestita signanter ut ducatus Attenarum . . . Neopatrie ad nostrum dominium pervenirent” (*Dipl.*, p. 555). Note also *Dipl.*, docs. CDXII, CDLXXXV, CDXCI, pp. 500, 545, 549.

the Greek duchies and adjacent lands, and defined in some detail his manifold administrative and judicial responsibilities.¹³ The chancery was kept busy, and a harassed clerk dated thirteen documents April 31 (!), including the various notifications of Dalmau's appointment sent to the Venetian bailie of Negroponte, Nerio Acciajuoli, the refugee citizens of Thebes and Livadia, the Albanian chieftain count Dimitri, Louis Fadrique, archbishop Paul Foscari of Patras, the countess palatine Maddalena of Cephalonia, the acting despot Matthew Asen Cantacuzenus of Mistra, the officials of the Hospital in the Morea, and certain other interested dignitaries.¹⁴

There were delays in getting Dalmau's two galleys ready, but he was dilatory himself; on August 6, 1381, Peter IV ordered him to depart immediately or incur the royal displeasure. He sailed from Barcelona before August 13.¹⁵ On his voyage to Greece, he put in at the island of Cephalonia, where he ordered the seizure, from a ship, of various goods and merchandise belonging to Florentine merchants, whom he forced to redeem their property by a payment of 1,000 gold ducats. He gave them a note in his own hand, duly sealed, promising to restore the money "in case we should regard the Florentines as our friends and well-wishers." On May 12 the king wrote Dalmau from Valencia that the Florentines were clamoring for restitution. He stated that he did indeed regard and wished to retain the Florentines as friends and well-wishers despite the late pope Gregory XI's decree against them as excommunicates and outlaws, condemning "all Florentines to servitude and their goods to seizure."¹⁶ Dalmau was to return the 1,000 ducats, immediately upon receipt of the royal letter, either to those from whom he had taken the money or to their authorized agents.¹⁷ Since Nerio Acciajuoli, the *enemich capital* of Aragon in the Athenian duchy, was a Floren-

13. *Dipl.*, doc. CDLV, pp. 522–524.

14. *Dipl.*, docs. CDLVII–CDLXIX, pp. 525–533, including letters addressed to Nerio and his father-in-law Saraceno de' Saraceni of Negroponte. The king hopes, in writing to Saraceno, that he will assist Dalmau "ut cum Raynerio genero vestro se habeat amicabiliter et conservet pacem . . ." (p. 533), which also shows that Nerio had married Agnes de' Saraceni at least a decade before 1390, the date which Hopf assumed for the marriage (*Chroniques gréco-romanes* [Berlin, 1873], p. 476).

15. *Dipl.*, docs. CDXCIX, DIV, DV, pp. 553–554, 557–558.

16. On the excommunication of the Florentines and their declaration as outlaws in the "War of the Eight Saints" see Ludwig von Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*, I (repr. 1955), 107–108.

17. *Dipl.*, doc. DXIII, pp. 563–564. Dalmau was well received in Athens, according to a royal confirmation dated December 5, 1382, of the rights and privileges of the *universitas civitatis Athenarum* (*Dipl.*, doc. DXXXII, pp. 583–584).

tine, Rocaberti's action was perhaps not so high-handed as it might at first appear.

Although the Aragonese archives have yielded some letters addressed to Dalmau during his tenure of the vicariate in Greece, little is known of his performance as either a soldier or an administrator. He seems to have provided the king's subjects in Athens with good government. However, he accomplished little in Greece, whence he departed in the spring of 1382. At least he had made a truce with Nerio Acciajuoli, to whom on September 12 Peter IV sent an expression of his pleasure in the peace which he professed to believe had been established. He stated that he would send Dalmau back to Greece without fail the following spring, and in the meantime he asked Nerio's consideration for Raymond de Vilanova, whom the vicar-general had left behind as his lieutenant in Athens.¹⁸ We still do not know how and when Nerio Acciajuoli acquired Thebes, and presumably Livadia, from the Navarrese, but the mercenary bands which had served under Mahiot of Coquerel and John de Urtubia seem finally to have merged into a single "Company," which is referred to in the Hospitaller financial accounts of August 1381 as the *Societas sistens in principatu [Achaye]*.¹⁹ John de Urtubia had apparently disappeared from the scene. His former lieutenants Peter Bordo de Saint Superan and Berard de Varvassa had joined with the redoubtable Mahiot as leaders of the unified company. Toward the end of the year 1381 they recognized James of Les Baux as prince of Achaea and Latin emperor of Constantinople, and he in turn named Mahiot as his bailie and Peter Bordo and Berard as imperial captains in the principality.²⁰

The Navarrese Company had quickly become one of the chief powers in the divided Morea, and during his residence in Athens Dalmau had sought an accord with the three leaders. Whereas he had made a truce (*treva*) with Nerio, Dalmau had reached some sort of alliance (*liga*) with the Navarrese. On September 12 Peter IV wrote Mahiot, Berard, and Peter Bordo, hailing the pact the vicar-general had made with them, assuring them of Dalmau's return to Greece the

18. *Dipl.*, doc. DXX, p. 575, and cf. doc. DXXXIII, p. 585: "Ramón de Vilanova, lochtinent del dit vescomte en los dits ducats . . ."

19. Loenertz, "Hospitaliers et Navarrais en Grèce," *Orientalia Christiana periodica*, XXII (1956), no. 14, pp. 332–333, and Royal Malta Library, Archives of the Order of St. John, Cod. 321, fol. 204^r, ed. Loenertz, *ibid.*, p. 351.

20. Loenertz, *ibid.*, nos. 38, 42–43, pp. 340, 341–343, who notes that this treaty provides the first evidence of James of Les Baux's relations with the Navarrese Company, although Venetian recognition of their "imperial" titles shows that James must have so designated them at least some weeks before the date of the treaty.

following year, and recommending Raymond de Vilanova to them.²¹ It seems likely that Urtubia had died, and that Berard and Peter Bordo had sold Thebes to Nerio, and then joined Mahiot in the Morea to see what the future might hold. Of all this there is of course no evidence, but it would have been impossible for Dalmau to enter into any sort of alliance with the new Navarrese Company if any of its leaders still held Thebes.

While Dalmau was in Greece, he had discussed with Louis Fadrique the possibility of his son Bernaduch's marrying Louis's daughter Maria. Just about the time of Dalmau's return to Barcelona, however, Louis died, and the outstanding Catalan in Greece was lost to the cause of Aragon. On November 18, king Peter sent countess Helena Cantacuzena an expression of his distress to learn of her husband's death and of his royal desire to preserve her honor and well-being. At the countess's request he granted her daughter Maria the castle of Siderokastron for her lifetime, but he added the proviso that to get the castle, Maria must go through with the projected marriage to Bernaduch Dalmau.²² But Maria Fadrique did not marry the young lord Bernaduch, and presumably she never held Siderokastron, to which no further reference occurs in the Catalan documents.

In the late summer of 1382 the municipality of Athens sent an emissary to Peter IV, asking royal confirmation of the privileges, concessions, and immunities which the Catalan kings of Sicily had granted to Athens in past decades. The emissary found the king at Tortosa by the Ebro. He acceded to the requests on December 5, recalling how the Catalans in Athens had always preserved the natural tie which bound them to the fatherland.²³ There is indeed abundant evidence of the attachment of the Catalan creoles in Greece (and of course in Sicily) to their Iberian homeland, but they also came to love the sunny skies and evening breezes of Athens and Thebes. By a letter patent of April 1368, for example, addressed to the then vicar-general Roger de Lluria and the municipalities of the duchies, king Frederick III besought protection for one Bartholomew de Valerio, who had been serving the crown in Sicily but now proposed to return to Greece "and to see again the city of Thebes, his beloved home" (*ac civitatem Thebarum eius dulcem patriam revidere*).²⁴

The emissary who brought the Athenian requests to Tortosa

21. *Dipl.*, doc. DXXI, p. 575.

22. *Dipl.*, doc. DXXVI, pp. 579–580, and cf. docs. DXXVII, DXXVIII, pp. 580–581.

23. *Dipl.*, docs. DXXXII, DXXXIII, pp. 583–585.

24. *Dipl.*, doc. CCXCIX, p. 387, and cf. Setton, *Catalan Domination*, pp. 87–88.

brought also a good report of Dalmau's lieutenant in Athens, Raymond de Vilanova, to whom the king wrote in friendly fashion on December 11 (1382), "we are confident that you will serve us well and loyally."²⁵ As time passed, Peter needed Vilanova's loyal service, because for one reason or another Dalmau did not get back to Greece, although on June 20, 1383, his majesty assured the officials of Athens and Neopatras as well as Vilanova and countess Helena that the vicar-general would in fact, *Deo volente*, soon be setting out to resume command in the duchies.²⁶

Although there is no dearth of documents for the years 1382–1383, we are still unable to determine who held Thebes and Livadia. On December 31, 1382, the king wrote pope Urban VI that after the union of the Athenian duchy with the crown of Aragon, the intrigues of certain rebels had resulted in a monstrous defection of loyalty from the crown. He implied that this had been the reason for levying the papal interdict upon the duchy (which was certainly not the case), but now, that "all the inhabitants of the duchy have of their own accord recognized the error of their ways and returned to the Aragonese obedience," the long-standing interdict was unnecessary. The king asked his holiness to remove the ban and restore his "faithful subjects" to the loving embrace of the church. The bearer of the royal letter was to be bishop John Boyl of Megara, who had returned to Catalonia and was now setting out for Rome.²⁷ His persistent majesty made a further attempt to have the learned Simon Atumano removed from the archiepiscopal see of Thebes, and again recommended John Boyl's nomination thereto,²⁸ but the request was no more successful this time than it had been two years before.²⁹ Probably John Boyl made a better impression on the Aragonese court, where he could speak Catalan, than on the curia, for he may never have learned the Italian vernacular. In any event, Simon

25. *Dipl.*, doc. DXXXIV, pp. 585–586.

26. *Dipl.*, docs. DXLVI, DXLVIII–DL, pp. 595–597. The king asked Vilanova to guard well *lo castell e ciutat de Cetines*.

27. *Dipl.*, doc. DXXXVII, p. 587: "... omnes dicti ducatus tanquam nostri fideles eorum recognoscentes errorem spontanei ad nostram obedienciam et dominium redierunt. . . ." The statement is simple enough, but the meaning is unclear. Loenertz, *Arch. FF. Praed.*, XXVIII, no. 216, p. 75, says "le document semble impliquer que Thèbes et Livadia sont rentrées sous la domination catalane, fait important . . .," and the fact would indeed be important if it were true, but a royal letter of April 10, 1383 (*Dipl.*, doc. DXLIII, p. 592), certainly shows that by that date the "city and district of Thebes" had not returned to Catalan rule. In reference to this document Loenertz, *loc. cit.*, speaks of "l'interdit qui pèse sur les duchés grecs," but the text specifies the duchy of Athens, and the interdict did not fall upon that of Neopatras.

28. *Dipl.*, doc. DXXXVIII, p. 588, dated December 31, 1382.

29. Cf. *Dipl.*, docs. CCCXCVI, CDVI, CDXIII.

Atumano was then in Rome, and could defend himself before the pope, who knew him. Simon had clearly not remained in Thebes very long after the Navarrese occupation of the city, even though (as we have seen) Peter IV had accused him of acting in collusion with the invaders. But before he left, he had embarked upon his most significant work, a trilingual Bible in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, of which a partial Greek translation of the Old Testament is still extant in Simon's own first-draft, autograph manuscript, once the possession of cardinal Bessarion and perhaps the most important contribution of Catalan Greece to the scholarship of the Italian Renaissance.³⁰

By the time of John Boyl's arrival at the curia with the royal letters of December 31 (1382), Simon Atumano was a familiar figure in intellectual circles in Rome. Urban VI, to whom he dedicated his *Biblia Triglotta*, provided him, on May 29, 1383, with a letter of safe conduct for a mission to Constantinople which was envisaged as possibly lasting a year.³¹ When Simon died (in or before 1387), Urban is said to have taken possession of the *Biblia*,³² suggesting that the esteem in which he was held at the curia was too much for John Boyl to combat.

If John Boyl had secured the archiepiscopal title to Thebes, it would have done him little good. The Catalans apparently never recovered the city, although Peter IV continued to hope, and his subjects in Greece still held out their hands for further grants. The Navarrese invasion had thrown central Greece into worse turmoil than ever. Travel was difficult and more dangerous still, for the Turks had overrun Thrace and Macedonia, and were said to be assailing the Morea.³³ One could leave his home in the Kastro in the morning and be carried off into slavery in the afternoon.

30. Biblioteca Centrale Marciana, Cod. gr. VII, published by Oscar Gebhardt and Fr. Delitzsch, *Graecus venetus: Pentateuchi Proverbiorum Ruth Cantici Ecclesiastae Threnorum Danielis versio graeca*. Ex unico bibliothecae S. Marci Venetae codice . . . (Leipzig, 1875). Incidentally, to go with his Greek translation of the Old Testament, Simon also prepared for scholarly or missionary purposes a Hebrew version of the New Testament, which was, at least in part, still extant in the year 1516 (Mercati, *Simone Atumano, arcivescovo di Tebe*, pp. 12-43).

31. Mercati, *Simone Atumano*, doc. III, pp. 50-51.

32. Mercati, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-17: "... cum morte praeoccuparetur, papa totum [Vetus Testamentum] sibi retinuit."

33. Demetrius Cydones, *Epistulae*, XXII, 226 (written to Simon Atumano from Constantinople in 1380 or 1381), ed. R. J. Loenertz, *Démétrius Cydonès: Correspondance* (Studi e testi, no. 208; Vatican City, 1960), pp. 120-121, and first published by Mercati, *Simone Atumano*, pp. 55-56. On July 17, 1385, King Peter IV thanked Mahiot of Coquerel and Peter Bordo de Saint Superan, imperial bailie and captain in the Morea, for assisting his

In 1381–1382 a plague swept from Pera to the Morea,³⁴ taking many lives. Galcerán of Peralta, onetime captain and castellan of Athens, had escaped it. He had regained his freedom, but ever since his displacement by Romeo de Bellarbre he knew that, although he was young, he had no future in Greece. On April 23, 1383, Peter IV wrote Bellarbre that “we have learned that at the time [Peralta] lost the aforesaid captaincy and castellany a large amount of his property remained in the castle of Athens, which despite his numerous requests he has been unable to secure from you, to his no small prejudice and loss.” The king ordered the prompt restoration of Peralta’s possessions, and warned Bellarbre that he would incur the royal displeasure if Peralta was obliged again to have recourse to the crown to secure justice in this connection.³⁵ Peralta presumably got back his property, because at this point Bellarbre had no intention of displeasing the king. He had apparently had enough of Greece, and was himself preparing to beat a retreat. In June (1383) Peter granted Bellarbre, in recognition of past services and in expectation of future loyalty, an emolument of 20,000 or 30,000 *solidi* Barcelonese.³⁶ And so we may assume that Bellarbre went back home with his beloved Zoe of Megara and their children, for after 1383 he is no longer a part of the history of Athens.

As king Peter worried about his distant domain and would have liked to hasten the vicar-general’s departure for Greece, since Athens and Neopatras were threatened with ever-increasing danger, he learned that Dalmau had become ill.³⁷ The delay continued for months. On April 20, 1384, however, king Peter IV wrote his son, the infante Don John, that the necessity of sending aid to the duchies was not diminishing. Indeed, they might be lost. Whoever was threatening the Greek duchies at this time, it was apparently not Nerio Acciajuoli, the king’s *enemich capital*. At least it was not he if we can take at face value a royal letter of May 30 (1384) in which the king thanked Nerio for keeping the peace he had made with Dalmau and for having “defended our city of Athens.” The king did emphasize, to be sure, that the vicar-general was going to Greece with “so strong a force of men-at-arms” that the duchies would have full

subjects in the duchy of Athens against the “daily” incursions of Greeks and Turks (*Dipl.*, doc. DLXXV, p. 613).

34. Cf. Loenertz, “La Chronique brève moréote de 1423,” in *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, II-1 (1964), 418.

35. *Dipl.*, doc. DXLIV, p. 593.

36. *Dipl.*, docs. DXLV and DXLVII, pp. 594, 595, dated June 1 and 20 respectively and giving 30,000 and 20,000 *solidi* as Bellarbre’s emolument.

37. *Dipl.*, docs. DLII, DLIII, p. 598, dated September 16 and October 23, 1383.

security and the good friends of Aragon such as Nerio would have cause for contentment.³⁸ Rather similar letters went off to countess Helena Cantacuzena, the syndics and council of Athens, and the lieutenant Raymond de Vilanova, informing them that once the then meeting of the Corts Generals had adjourned, Dalmau would leave promptly for Greece. Vilanova's young son Albert was anxious to go to Greece to relieve him of his duties and allow him at long last to return home, but Peter wanted the father and not the son in command on the Acropolis until the vicar-general could arrive in Athens.³⁹

It is at this point that Nerio Acciajuoli emerges from behind the scenes into the full light of the Athenian stage, and for the first time we get a panoramic view of his activities in a letter which James, the Dominican bishop of Argos, wrote Nerio's brother Angelo, whom Urban VI had recently created a cardinal. Since the affairs of Greece were much influenced by the turbulence in the kingdom of Naples, where Charles III of Durazzo had displaced Joanna I, the Acciajuoli were inevitably much interested in the Neapolitan scene. Bishop James wrote cardinal Angelo from Venice that "our lord [the pope] hates to death my lord count of Nola [Nicholas Orsini], to such an extent that he has deprived him of his county, and this because the said lord count has made friends with king Charles . . .,"⁴⁰ and more to the same effect, concerning which the cardinal must have been much better informed than the good bishop. The Acciajuoli had been caught up in the shifting currents of Neapolitan politics (into which we shall not go) for more than half a century, but certainly cardinal Angelo did not lose interest in James of Argos's letter as he continued reading:

Since your excellency wants reliable news of the lord Nerio, know that by the grace of God he is very well, as are his lady [Agnes de' Saraceni] and their daughters, the despoina Bartolommea and Francesca, and a beautiful family they make! The Navarrese who are in the Morea, as I see it, have no love for him and would willingly do him damage in a big way if they could, but they do not dare show their hand. In short, they make war on the despot [Theodore I Palaeologus, Nerio's son-in-law, the husband of Bartolommea], whose affairs are going badly because all his barons are rebelling against him and are siding with the Navarrese. The lord Nerio aids the despot, but not very vigorously, and excuses

38. *Dipl.*, doc. DLXI, p. 603.

39. *Dipl.*, docs. DLXII–DLXIV, pp. 604–606, dated May 30, 1384, and see also docs. DLXVI, DLXVIII, pp. 606–607.

40. On Urban VI's savage struggle with the Durazzeschi, to which bishop James alludes, see Angela Valente, *Margherita di Durazzo, vicaria di Carlo III e tutrice di Re Ladislao* (Naples, 1919), especially pp. 73–85.

himself to the Navarrese on the grounds that he is not helping the despot against the Navarrese but against the despot's Greek barons who are in revolt, and this is not contrary to the articles of peace.

But I think that this cloaking of motives will hardly endure, and in my own opinion there will be war between the Navarrese on the one hand and the lord Nerio and the despot on the other. A sign of this is the fact that news has just come from Argos that the Navarrese for their part are preparing to wage heavier warfare with the despot than they can [manage at present] as soon as a new opportunity arises. The despot is also getting ready, because a hundred horse have come to him from the city of Thessalonica, where his brother [Manuel] is ruler, and the lord Nerio is collecting men-at-arms from everywhere he can, and so I do [not] doubt there will be war. The lord Nerio can raise a good 70 lances, 800 Albanian horse, and a good many foot. The despot, moreover, who is always with the lord Nerio, will also have at least 200 horse and a good many foot including Turks in his force. The Navarrese however have about 1,300 horse. Your excellency will be able to inform your brother, the lord Donato, about all this⁴¹

Very likely the bishop of Argos knew a good deal about Nerio Acciajuoli's intentions, but troops raised for one purpose could usually be employed for another. If not against the Navarrese, why not against the Catalans? Nerio was not only recruiting land forces. He also wanted (he said) to share in the defense of east central Greece against constant Turkish assault. He had offered the bailie, captain, and councillors of Negroponte 8,000 ducats for the lease of an armed galley for a year to guard the Greek littoral, in conjunction with the republic's "galley of Negroponte." Since a resolution of approval was passed by the senate,⁴² we must assume

41. Ferd. Gregorovius, "Briefe aus der 'Corrispondenza Acciajoli' in der Laurenziana zu Florenz," *Sitzungsberichte der philos.-philol. u. hist. Classe der k. bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München*, II (1890–1891), 297–300; Gregorovius (tr. Lampros), *Athens* [in Greek], II, 640–644; *Dipl.*, doc. DLXXIV, pp. 611–613; and cf. in general Setton, *Catalan Domination*, pp. 174 ff., with sources. The reference to Angelo Acciajuoli's creation as cardinal of San Lorenzo in Damaso on December 17, 1384 (Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, I, 24, 42–43), helps to date the letter with some precision.

On the early years of Theodore I Palaeologus in the despotate of Mistra, see Loenertz, "Pour l'histoire du Péloponèse au XIV^e siècle (1382–1404)," *Études byzantines*, I (1943), 161 ff., and on the background of events in the Neapolitan kingdom, to which James of Argos refers, see especially Noël Valois, *La France et le grand schisme d'Occident* (4 vols., Paris, 1896–1902, repr. Hildesheim, 1967), II, 65 ff., 112 ff., and in brief compass, É. G. Léonard, *Les Angevins de Naples* (Paris, 1954), pp. 464–467, 474–475. A letter of king Peter IV, dated July 17, 1385, to Mahiot of Coquerel and Peter Bordo de Saint Superan makes it clear that Greeks and Turks were "daily" crossing the borders of the Athenian duchy (*Dipl.*, doc. DLXXV, p. 613, referred to above), and the letter of James of Argos shows that these Greeks and Turks were troopers of the despot Theodore. For the political and military situation in continental Greece and the Morea at this time, see George T. Dennis, *The Reign of Manuel II Palaeologus in Thessalonica, 1382–1387* (Rome, 1960), pp. 114–128.

42. Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Misti, Reg. 38, fol. 10^r, dated "MCCCLXXXII indict. sexta, die vigesimo Febr.," in the Venetian style, i.e., February 20, 1383.

that Nerio paid his money and got his galley. He seems to have invaded Attica by land, and probably sailed his galley into Piraeus, seizing the harbors and height of Munychia. A Venetian document of July 7, 1385, refers to "dominus Raynerius de Azaiolis, dominator Choranti et ducaminis,"⁴³ which clearly means that the senate now recognized Nerio as lord of the Athenian duchy as well as of the Corinthian barony. Nerio was obviously getting along very well with the Venetians, and every advance in the date of the documents seems to bring him closer to the palace built into the Propylaea. Thus when on January 15, 1387, Nerio issued a confirmatory grant of lands, he called himself "lord of the castellany of Corinth, the duchy of Athens, and their dependencies."⁴⁴ But the document was drafted in the lower city, and Nerio was finding the ascent to the Acropolis hard going.

On the Acropolis itself Raymond de Vilanova had been finding it hard going for months, and had written king Peter IV that he could no longer maintain his position "without evident peril." Vilanova was of course the lieutenant of the vicar-general Philip Dalmau, who had bound him by oath and homage personally to defend the Catalan states in Greece, but Vilanova was anxious to be released from his obligation, because he wanted to return home and apparently regarded the situation as hopeless. The king rather peremptorily ordered Dalmau publicly to release Vilanova from the bonds of oath and homage, and directed him also to notify those who held the castle and duchy of Athens to give up their commands to the person or persons who would presently be designated, for the king still intended to send "some one of our loyal subjects, a provident and discreet man, with a proper force of armed men to guard and defend the duchy, cities, towns, castles, and people . . ."⁴⁵ When Dalmau was slow to comply with the royal commands, Peter wrote him again to do immediately as he was bid.⁴⁶ The break was coming between the king and Dalmau, who was then supporting the infante Don John against his imperious father, and when instead of obedience Dalmau allegedly offered Peter "arguments unacceptable to us," he was angrily reprimanded and now told to obey the present mandamus within eight days of its receipt.⁴⁷ On January 6, 1386, Dalmau

43. Misti, Reg. 39, fol. 110^v.

44. J. A. C. Buchon, *Nouvelles recherches historiques*, II (Paris, 1845), *Florence*, doc. XL, pp. 220–221; Fr. Miklosich and Jos. Müller, *Acta et diplomata res graecas italsque illustrantia*, III (1865, repr. 1968), doc. no. 8, pp. 248–249; *Dipl.*, doc. DC, pp. 636–637.

45. *Dipl.*, doc. DLXXVII, pp. 614–615, dated September 12, 1385.

46. *Dipl.*, doc. DLXXVIII, pp. 615–616, dated September 20, 1385.

47. *Dipl.*, doc. DLXXXIV, pp. 618–619, dated December 22, 1385. Much concerned

replied courteously that he had only seen one letter from the king, which he had answered with the reminder that he had gone to Greece at the royal command and secured for his majesty the castles of Athens and Neopatras. He had employed his own resources for the honor of Aragon, and the crown still owed him 5,000 florins and the pay for twenty-five lances. He would return to Greece if his majesty so wished, but he did not deserve such treatment for the services he and his ancestors had rendered the royal house.⁴⁸ Peter responded promptly, on January 17, insisting upon the release of Vilanova from his personal commitments to Dalmau so that another commander might be sent to take over Athens and Neopatras. He did not want to send Dalmau back to Greece. He had never caused a loss to any man, however, nor would he to Dalmau, and so the latter might send someone to the court with his accounts which the royal treasurer would go over, and his just claims would be met.⁴⁹

However much Dalmau might choose to remonstrate, the king had decided to remove him from the Greek vicariate. On June 26, 1386, his majesty wrote Raymond de Vilanova from Barcelona that “whereas for certain reasons we have revoked the concession we have made to the viscount of Rocaberti of the office of the vicariate of the duchies of Athens and Neopatras, we have recently bestowed the said office upon the young Don Bernard [Bernat] of Cornellà, who will presently have to betake himself to the . . . duchies on this account, and therefore we require that you give up to the said Bernard the castles and the city of Athens . . . , which you hold by command of the viscount of Rocaberti, [and] which he holds on our behalf” Vilanova had in fact already left Athens for Catalonia, and had turned over the Acropolis and the other castles on the royal domain to one Peter of Pau, who had thus perforce become Cornellà’s lieutenant in the duchies.⁵⁰

For whatever reason, official notifications of Cornellà’s appointment were not sent out by the Catalan chancery for almost two months. At length on August 17 (1386) the king did so notify countess Helena Cantacuzena, and at the same time he chided her for seeking a husband for her daughter Maria outside the ranks of the Catalan nobility. He wrote Helena that he would send Cornellà to Greece without fail the following spring, and the men-at-arms whom the new vicar-general would bring with him would protect the

with the “affairs of Athens,” Peter had been impatiently summoning Bernard Ballester to the court for consultation (*ibid.*, docs. DLXXIX–DLXXXII, DLXXXV).

48. *Dipl.*, doc. DLXXXVI, pp. 620–621.

49. *Dipl.*, doc. DLXXXVII, pp. 621–622.

50. *Dipl.*, doc. DXC, pp. 623–624, and cf. doc. DXCVII.

countess's lands as well as the castles of the royal domain.⁵¹ On the same day (August 17) notices of Cornellà's appointment to the Greek vicariate were prepared in the king's name for dispatch to the lords of Argos, Lepanto, and Patras, who were told "that within a few days we shall send to the said duchies our said vicar and lieutenant with such a force of men-at-arms, both horse and foot, that you and all our friends shall have cause for satisfaction."⁵² Even Cornellà's lieutenant Peter of Pau was given to understand that Cornellà was being sent to Greece "within a few days,"⁵³ although when the king informed the Navarrese Company in the Morea and the anxious officials of Athens and Neopatras of Cornellà's appointment, he stated (as he had to Helena) that the new vicar would set out for Greece the following spring.⁵⁴

The extant copy of Bernard of Cornellà's commission as "vicar-general and viceroy" is dated August 18, 1386. It conferred upon him the usual jurisdiction in civil and criminal cases and all the other rights and responsibilities adhering to his new office.⁵⁵ By this time Raymond de Vilanova had returned to Barcelona, having turned over his command in Greece to Peter of Pau, who would of course surrender the cities and castles on the royal domain to Cornellà upon the latter's arrival in Athens.⁵⁶ Cornellà, however, bore the title vicar-general for less than a year (1386-1387). He never went to Greece, and "by a public instrument executed in the city of Athens on November 4, A.D. 1386," Peter of Pau selected Gerard de Rodonella, who with bishop John Boyl had presented the Articles of Athens to Peter IV a half dozen years before, to go as his emissary to Barcelona, to swear fealty and render homage to the new vicar-general, and of course to inform the royal court that Nerio Acciajuoli had laid Athens under siege. We have noted that by mid-January 1387 Nerio had occupied the lower city, a fact which Rodonella did not know as he made his way to Barcelona, in those days a voyage of about three months.

King Peter IV the Ceremonious died in the queen's palace at Barcelona on January 5, 1387, some weeks before Rodonella's ship put into the harbor. The infante Don John succeeded his father as

51. *Dipl.*, doc. DXCI, pp. 624-625.

52. *Dipl.*, doc. DXCII, pp. 625-626.

53. *Dipl.*, doc. DXCV, p. 628.

54. *Dipl.*, docs. DXCIII, DXCIV, pp. 626-627.

55. *Dipl.*, doc. DXCVI, pp. 628-630.

56. *Dipl.*, doc. DXCVII, p. 633, a letter of the king to Peter of Pau dated July 18, 1386

king of Aragon, count of Barcelona, and duke of Athens, but John's health was so poor that when Rodonella arrived in Barcelona he had to wait more than a month for an audience. As he recovered, king John gave some attention to Greek affairs. On March 3 he ordered the bailie of Jativa to pay Bernard Ballester, "citizen of Valencia and inhabitant of the duchy of Athens," 2,000 solidi still owing on his annual pension of 4,000 (which was to run until the royal grant of 4,000 gold florins, made by king Peter in September 1380, had been paid in its entirety).⁵⁷ On Monday, the 18th, John received Rodonella at Barcelona, and accepted the letter of procuration prepared at Athens the preceding November 4. Rodonella explained to his tired majesty that he had come from Athens as Peter of Pau's special emissary to learn what was to be done about the duchies, which by this time were in even greater danger than Rodonella knew. John answered that he had removed Cornellà from the vicariate-general and reappointed Philip Dalmau, the viscount of Rocaberti, his councillor and chamberlain, to whom he now directed Rodonella to swear fealty and do homage in Peter of Pau's name. Rodonella went through the feudal ceremony, pledging Peter's loyal defense of the duchies and his allegiance to the vicar-general and his sovereign.⁵⁸

As Rodonella was getting ready to return to Greece, the royal chancery in Barcelona prepared notices of Dalmau's reappointment on April 17, 1387, one of which (as protocol required) was addressed to Nerio Acciajuoli, wherein king John informed "the lord of the castellany of Corinth" that the Catalans intended to preserve the "peace and truce" which Dalmau had negotiated with Nerio during his first tenure of office.⁵⁹ His majesty also wrote to the aldermen of Athens with words of praise and gratitude for the love and loyalty which the Catalans in Athens had exhibited toward the crown of Aragon. He told them of the reappointment of Dalmau, who would rewin the lost *viles e lochs* with a strong corps of men-at-arms and archers. He also assured his threatened subjects overseas that they were not to think he had forgotten such an illustrious part of his crown as the city of Athens and that he hoped to pay the Catalans in Athens a personal visit, to encourage by his royal presence both the Catalans and all who served him, "and those both near and far will

(from the Arx. Cor. Aragó, Reg. 1559, fol. 15^v). Rubió i Lluch has perhaps unnecessarily altered the date of August 18, the official date of Cornellà's appointment to the vicariate, to which the letter relates. But we know that the king had already decided upon Cornellà's appointment before June 26 (cf. *Dipl.*, doc. DXC).

57. *Dipl.*, doc. DCI, p. 637, and see above, p. 231.

58. *Dipl.*, doc. DCII, pp. 638–639.

59. *Dipl.*, doc. DCIII, p. 639, and cf. Setton, *Catalan Domination*, pp. 179 ff.

know that you are our people, a special part of our crown, and that we are your king, prince, duke, and lord by divine grace.”⁶⁰

On April 17 John also notified countess Helena Cantacuzena of Dalmau's reappointment to the vicariate-general, but acknowledged that Dalmau could not immediately proceed to Greece.⁶¹ John's letter probably made little impression on Helena, who knew that Nerio Acciajuoli had already taken the lower city of Athens, and probably suspected that Dalmau would never return to Greece. The Catalan duchies, or what was left of them, were in a sad state, as Rodonella had unquestionably lamented at some length. Nerio was moving freely about in the lower city of Athens and held the Acropolis under intermittent siege.

During these months the valiant soldier Peter of Pau, “the last of the *almogàvers* in Greece,” was defending Athena's towering rock against Nerio's increasing pressure. If Rodonella ever got back to Athens carrying the king's letters of April 1387, he must have found Aragonese rule in the city confined to the citadel. Although communication between Athens and the Aragonese court had obviously become difficult, Peter managed to get letters safely through Nerio's lines. It is easy to imagine what he wrote king John when the latter replied on April 22, 1388, that “we have seen your letters in which you make known to us that Messer Nerio, the Florentine, holds our castle of Athens strongly and tightly under siege . . .” Peter had stated that he could not hold out in the Acropolis much longer. The king had to acknowledge that he was unable to send assistance immediately but was asking countess Helena to do so. If the countess could not or would not help, however, Peter was to do what he thought best, and his majesty would certainly regard the defenders of the citadel as his good and loyal vassals.⁶² King John wrote the countess at the same time. He told her of the siege (of which she must have known more than he), and reminded her that the Florentine occupation of the Acropolis would be an “irreparable loss” to Aragon. For various good reasons he could not just then send aid, but implored her to break the siege by an armed force or in any other way she could, and free Peter and those who were helping him defend the citadel. If the countess did so, John promised to turn over the Acropolis to her, and she could retain it until he had reimbursed

60. *Dipl.*, doc. DCVIII, pp. 642–643, dated April 26, 1387. An earlier letter to the *prohomens* of Athens, dated April 17 (*ibid.*, doc. DCIV, p. 640) “was not sent in this form,” according to a marginal note in the register preserving the text (Arx. Cor. Aragó, Reg. 1675, fol. 124, ref. from Rubió i Lluch): it was too formal, too brief, and too abrupt.

61. *Dipl.*, doc. DCV, pp. 640–641.

62. *Dipl.*, doc. DCXX, p. 651.

her for all the expense she would undergo in saving it from the enemy: "We assure you that this is a matter which we hold dear to our heart, and we want it done!"⁶³ But the Acropolis was not strong enough to laugh a siege to scorn, for by now famine and plague had joined the opponents of Aragon.

King John might hold the defense of the Acropolis dear to his heart, but Peter of Pau and his fellow Catalans could not withstand Nerio Acciajuoli's unrelenting pressure. Only ten days after the date of John's letters to Peter and countess Helena (and long before they could have received them, if indeed they ever did), Nerio's forces entered the world's most famous citadel. The event is dated in a letter (now in the Laurentian Library in Florence) which one James of Prato, possibly a relative of Louis Aliotti of Prato, first Florentine archbishop of Athens, wrote on May 9, 1388, to Donato Acciajuoli in Florence: "Most reverend lord: May your revered Magnificence know . . . I arrived in Patras safe and sound, and here I found the news that Messer Neri and all his family are well, and on the second day of this month he took the castle of Athens. It is true that there is plague in Athens, and great loss of life, from which Messer Neri with all his family has gone away and is staying in Thebes [*Stive*]. . . ."⁶⁴ Unfortunately James of Prato did not bother to inform Donato of the fate of Peter of Pau and the Catalan garrison on the Acropolis. Whether the plucky Peter met his death in a Florentine assault or saved his life by flight or surrender, we do not know, but when dead or alive he came down from the citadel, the rule of Aragon in Attica had come to an end.⁶⁵ Nerio Acciajuoli was sailing smoothly before the wind, but he would soon strike the shoals of adversity.

The Turks had taken Thessalonica in April 1387, and were threatening the Venetian colony at Negroponte. The castellans of Coron and Modon also reported to the home government that Turkish incursions into the southern Morea were netting the invaders *animae et animalia*. On September 28, 1387, the Venetian senate decided to send an envoy to sultan Murad I (1362–1389),⁶⁶ and on October 3,

63. *Dipl.*, doc. DCXXI, p. 652.

64. Lampros, *Eggrapha*, part II, doc. 10, p. 119; *Dipl.*, doc. DCXXII, pp. 652–653.

65. Cf. Laonicus Chalcocondylas, *Historia*, II (*CSHB*, p. 69); E. Darkó, ed., *L. Chalcocondylae historiarum demonstrationes*, I (Budapest, 1922), 63: "Some [of the Catalans] returned to Italy, and some remained in Greece until they died . . ." The brothers Roger and Antonio de Lluria are said in fact to have sought refuge in Sicily (Gerónimo Zurita, *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*, II [Saragossa, 1610], p. 403^v).

66. Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Misti, Reg. 40, fol. 94^v: "Quia propter nova que habentur a castellanijs Coroni et Mothoni de incursionibus Turchorum factis in locis nostris predictis capiendis animas et animalia et multa alia damna et spolia inferendo . . ." Equally discouraging news came from Negroponte, and so choice was to be made of "unus ambaxator sufficiens ad dominum Moratum Bey. . . ."

when Daniel Cornaro was chosen for the mission, he was instructed to ask the sultan to order the return of all persons, animals, and other property seized from Venetian territory by Turks under the command of Evrenos Beg, and to receive assurance from the Ottoman government that subjects of the republic would not again suffer such captivity or loss as they had in the recent depredation of the Morea and the attack upon Euboea.⁶⁷ The Turks, however, were not merely following a policy of raid and run. They were assisting their good friend Theodore I Palaeologus against his rebellious Greek *archontes* and his Latin enemies in the Morea, including presumably the Navarrese.

The despot Theodore and his ambitious father-in-law Nerio Acciajuoli worked together, though their union may have been less close than one seemed to think in Venice. Now that he was lord of Athens, Nerio probably wanted Argos and Nauplia also, fiefs of the Athenian duchy in the old days of the French dukes. At first Nerio entertained an understandable apprehension of the Turks, which had led him to rent a Venetian galley and to share with the republic the burden of maintaining coastal defense against Turkish corsairs. But when Manuel Palaeologus, Theodore's brother, lost Thessalonica to Murad, he became a Turkish vassal, and Theodore himself now saw some advantage in acknowledging the suzerainty of the sultan in distant Adrianople so long as he could get Turkish assistance to advance his own interests in the Morea.⁶⁸

The Morea had known little peace since the Fourth Crusade. There had been much tension under the Villehardouins, much turmoil after them. The Byzantine despots in Mistra had helped undermine the Latin hegemony, and now the arrival of the Ottoman Turks in force became a threat to Christian dominance in the peninsula. We have noted Nerio Acciajuoli's initial desire to coöperate with the Venetians to ward off Turkish attacks upon their Greek territories, and for a while Nerio stood out as a Latin champion, even winning a "remarkable victory" over the Turks, allegedly with Venetian aid.⁶⁹

67. Misti, Reg. 40, fols. 95^r–96^r, and cf. F. Thiriet, ed., *Régestes des délibérations du sénat de Venise*, I (1958), nos. 735–736, pp. 177–178; Loenertz, "La Chronique brève moréote . . .," *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, II-1, 420; and cf. the *Chronicon breve*, ad ann. 6896 (1388), appended to Ducas's *Historia byzantina* (CSHB, p. 516); and on the Turkish occupation of Thessalonica see Dennis, *The Reign of Manuel II Palaeologus in Thessalonica, 1382–1387*, pp. 151 ff.

68. Cf. Loenertz, "Pour l'histoire du Péloponèse . . . (1382–1404)," *Études byzantines*, I, 166–170.

69. Misti, Reg. 40, fol. 17^v, dated in the Venetian style "MCCCLXXXV die VI Februarii indictione nona," i.e., February 6, 1386. Nerio's victory is said to have been achieved with Negropontine help. Cf. Thiriet, *Régestes*, I, no. 707, p. 171.

After this, Nerio had other uses for his time and money (in the siege of Athens), and he preferred the conquest of territory to warfare against the Turks. Furthermore, as his son-in-law, the despot Theodore, became almost a vassal of the sultan, Nerio's own attitude toward the Turks changed. To the exasperation of the Venetian senate, he did not even pay the full wages of the crew on the galley he had rented from the republic. What is more, in a letter of July 24, 1388, the senate charged Nerio directly with being the "principal cause" of the great Turkish invasion of the preceding autumn.⁷⁰ If true, Nerio was in a dangerous business.

In 1388 Greek affairs were complicated by the death of the Venetian magnate Peter Cornaro, who had held Argos and Nauplia for some years by virtue of his marriage with the Enghien heiress Marie. The despot Theodore promptly seized both places with Turkish assistance and with Nerio's obvious encouragement. But on December 12 (1388) Marie, who was then in Venice, sold both Argos and Nauplia to the republic for (among other considerations) an annual income which she and her descendants were to receive for as long as the republic should hold the two places.⁷¹ If the financial terms were not generous, neither was Venice in possession of Argos and Nauplia. Any Venetian court would uphold the legality of the republic's purchase, but in the Morea possession was more than nine points of the law.

Since the acquisition of the erstwhile strongholds of the Enghiens was a matter of "notable" concern to the state, the Venetian senate decided on January 26, 1389, to send a commissioner (*provisor*) on an armed galley to the Morea to make certain of their purchase.⁷²

70. A text of July 24, 1388, shows that the *intentiones Morati erga nos* worried the Venetians constantly (Misti, Reg. 40, fol. 127v); the senate sent Nerio a letter (*ibid.*, fols. 125v–126r) in which the serious charge was made that "... sicut a recto novimus in anno elapso fuistis potissima causa faciendi descendere Turchos et alias gentes ad damnum locorum nostrorum qui multa mala nobis et aliis intulerunt, de quo gravamur quantum plus possumus, ymo quod cedit ad maiorem turbationem nostram persensimus quod in presenti tempore conamini favere Turchis qui asseruntur descendere ad damnum locorum nostrorum, quod penitus importabile foret."

71. G. M. Thomas, ed., *Diplomatarium veneto-levantinum*, II, nos. 126–127, pp. 211–215; D. A. Zakythinos, *Le Despotat grec de Morée*, I (1932), 132–133; Setton, *Catalan Domination*, p. 190; Luttrell, "The Latins of Argos and Nauplia," *Papers of the British School at Rome*, XXXIV (1966), 47–48. The enemies of Venice are the despot Theodore and the "cruel tyrant" Nerio Acciajuoli, who must not get Argos and Nauplia (Archivio di Stato di Venezia, *Secreta Consilii Rogatorum*, Reg. E, fol. 46v, summarized in Thiriet, *Régestes*, I, no. 744, p. 179, dated December 12, 1388, and cf. R. Cessi, "Venezia e l'acquisto di Nauplia ed Argo," *Nuovo archivio veneto*, new ser., XXX [1915], 152). On Peter Cornaro see Luttrell, *op. cit.*, pp. 44–45.

72. Misti, Reg. 40, fol. 146r; Cessi, in *Nuovo archivio veneto*, n.s., XXX, 153.

The able Perazzo Malipiero was chosen for the mission; his commission is dated February 18, and contains detailed instructions which he was to follow. The text rehearses the essential facts of Marie's sale of Argos and Nauplia, and deplores the despot Theodore's *molestia et novitas*, which indicates that he had employed force in taking both places. The castellans of Modon and Coron, also acting under senatorial instructions, had been unable to prevail upon Theodore to order the evacuation of his forces. The senate had written to him and to Nerio asserting the claims of the republic to Argos and Nauplia. Paul Foscari, the archbishop of Patras, and Peter Bordo de Saint Superan, the Navarrese commander, had both offered their assistance "to obtain the aforesaid places."⁷³ Since Foscari was a Venetian, and the Navarrese were notoriously hostile to the aggressive despot, obviously the republic could rely on them.

Perazzo Malipiero did succeed in taking over Nauplia, but Argos was another matter. On May 31, 1389, the senate directed Nicholas Zeno, Venetian "captain of the gulf," to proceed to Nauplia to confer with Malipiero, after which they should go together to the despot Theodore, and state "that we have fully understood the letters which he has sent us with reference to our city of Argos." They were to demand that Theodore immediately desist from his armed occupation of the city, which he was holding contrary to God and justice and his own honor. The senate was all the more disturbed because Theodore had written that he was waiting for the answer to an inquiry he had addressed to sultan Murad, and that his hands were tied until it came. The senate did not believe him; the sultan had nothing to do with it all. Inasmuch, however, as Nerio Acciajuoli was said to be the principal cause of the difficulty, the captain and Malipiero should also wait upon Nerio, remind him of the ample (and unkept) promises he had been making the republic, and admonish him to get Theodore to remove himself from Argos.⁷⁴ But the Venetians could get nowhere with Nerio, and on June 22 (1389) the senate passed a resolution that figs from Attica and currants from Corinthia were no longer to be imported into Venice or into any Venetian territories. The castellans of Modon and Coron had already stopped the export of iron and plowshares to Nerio's domains (and to those of the despot); the senate approved of their action, but

73. Misti, Reg. 40, fols. 157^r-158^r, by original (faulty) foliation. Cf. Thiriet, *Régestes*, I, no. 748, p. 180.

74. Misti, Reg. 41, fol. 6^v; Cessi, in *Nuovo archivio veneto*, n.s., XXX, 155; Thiriet, *Régestes*, I, no. 753, p. 181, and cf. no. 762. On August 16, 1389, the senate made various provisions for the security and governance of Nauplia (*ibid.*, no. 761, p. 183).

provided for the resumption of trade with Mistra, Corinth, and Athens when the despot gave up the city of Argos.⁷⁵

At this point Peter Bordo de Saint Superan entered the scene, presumably as an honest broker, to try to adjudicate the issue which was dividing the Christian Morea. Since it was useless for him to approach the despot Theodore, with whom he was at armed odds, he made overtures to Nerio to confer with him at the Navarrese fortress of Vostitsa on the Gulf of Corinth. It was later said that he gave Nerio the fullest assurances of his safety, which was doubtless true, for otherwise Nerio would never have gone. He arrived at Vostitsa on September 7; discussed Argos (and related matters) with Peter Bordo for three days; and probably professed the innocence of a bystander in the whole affair. On September 10 Nerio was informed he was a prisoner. An old hand at hunting, he had fallen into a trap.⁷⁶ On September 15 Nerio's wife Agnes wrote his brother Donato from Corinth, "We must inform you that the lord messer Neri has gone to Vostitsa to talk with the vicar of the Morea and with others of the Company to bring about peace [*hordine*] for the well-being of the country and for other affairs of theirs. The vicar has had him arrested and carried off into prison, and this happened on Friday, September 10. The reason why they have detained and taken him I cannot explain to you clearly, because I do not know it. . . . I must also tell you that all the country, both the duchy [of Athens] and the castellany [of Corinth], is holding firm in loyalty to us. . . ."⁷⁷

It is quite possible that at the time of his imprisonment Nerio was willing to see the relaxation of tensions in the Morea, for he had just undertaken the siege of Neopatras, intending to add the northern duchy to his Athenian domain. Andrew Zavall, castellan and captain of the city, notified king John as soon as he could, and the latter wrote back on January 3, 1390, asking him to hold out, because "you will soon have that succor and assistance you hope to receive

75. Misti, Reg. 41, fol. 16^v. Cf. Gregorovius (trans. Lampros), *Athens* [in Greek], II, 238–239; Thiriet, *Régestes*, I, no. 757, p. 182; and esp. Cessi, in *Nuovo archivio veneto*, n.s., XXX, 158–159. On June 10 (1389) the senate had dismissed an ambassador from Nerio since he had had "nothing new" to say (Misti, Reg. 41, fol. 13^v). In mid-June on the field of Kossovo sultan Murad I was slain by a Serb posing as a deserter, but Murad's son Bayazid I took over the Ottoman command and inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Serbs (cf. G. Ostrogorsky and M. Dinić, in the *Cambridge Medieval History*, IV-1 [1966], 373–374, 550–551). Now all the Balkans as well as Greece lay in the shadow of Turkish power.

76. Cf. Buchon, II (1845), *Florence*: doc. XLVI, pp. 241–242, 248, and Cessi, in *Nuovo archivio veneto*, n.s., XXX, 160–161.

77. F. Gregorovius, "Corrispondenza Acciajoli," *Sitzungsb. d. Akad. zu München*, II (1890), 305, and Gregorovius, trans. Lampros, *Athens*, II (1904), 649–650; Rubió i Lluch, *Diplomatari*, doc. DCXXV, pp. 655–656.

from us.”⁷⁸ It was no use; Nerio would eventually get the city; but John had clearly not yet heard of Nerio’s detention by the Navarrese at the time of this letter.⁷⁹

Donato Acciajuoli had heard of it, and so had the Florentine government, which sent an envoy to Venice to try to arrange for Nerio’s release. The senate rejected the first proposals,⁸⁰ and the subsequent negotiations were long drawn out. Among other concessions, Donato offered to surrender, temporarily, Athens, Thebes, and certain other places in the castellany of Corinth (but not Acrocorinth), together with merchandise “to the value of twelve to fifteen thousand ducats or thereabouts,” which Nerio then had in Corinth—all as a guarantee that the republic should receive Argos.⁸¹ The Venetians were reminded that Nerio was one of their honorary citizens, and they were informed that the despot Theodore was holding Argos “against the will of messer Nerio,” which considering Nerio’s plight was doubtless the truth.⁸² Cardinal Angelo Acciajuoli, who had almost won the triple tiara in the conclave of late October and November 1389, appealed to the new pope, Boniface IX, and a papal embassy set out for Venice. Donato sent two more Florentine envoys to the lagoons on February 24, 1390, and other great personages were prepared to put pressure on Peter Bordo and the Navarrese Company. The doge of Genoa had offered to convey Donato and a retinue of twenty-five to Corinth and even to arrange for the transport of horses and men-at-arms.⁸³

Nerio had certainly not been abandoned. From faraway Chieri in Piedmont, Amadeo of Savoy, prince of Pinerolo, wrote Donato on March 30, 1390, of his displeasure in learning of Nerio’s detention “in our principality of Achaea.” For the last three or four years

78. *Dipl.*, doc. DCXXVII, p. 657: “Entès havem que vos sots aqui en la ciutat nostra de la Patria asseiat per miçer Arner [Nerio], enemich nostre capital, lo qual sens tota rahó s’esforce damnificar aquella . . .” King John also wrote countess Helena Cantacuzena of Salona, appealing to her to help defend Neopatras (*ibid.*, doc. DCXXVI, p. 656).

79. Cf. Loenertz, *Arch. FF. Praed.*, XXV, nos. 207–209, pp. 152–153.

80. Misti, Reg. 41, fol. 49^v, dated December 23, 1389: “. . . non possemus nos intro-mittere in procurando liberationem domini Nerii . . . donec haberemus ipsam nostram civitatem [Argolicensem] . . .,” and the same answer was given to bishop James of Argos, who had also gone to Venice on behalf of Nerio’s wife Agnes (Buchon, II, *Florence*: doc. XLVI, p. 249).

81. Buchon, II, 238–239, 243–244.

82. Buchon, II, 241–243.

83. Buchon, II, 247–252, especially p. 249, and for the Venetian replies to the envoys dispatched by Donato on February 24 see Thiriet, *Régestes*, I, no. 771, pp. 185–186, dated March 13, 1390. Although the exhausting war over Tenedos had led in 1381 to peace between Venice and Genoa, the Venetians believed the Genoese needed constant watching. Genoese corsairs were also active in Greek waters at this time.

Amadeo had been pressing the old claims of his house to the principality; in fact he informed Donato that he had been planning “for many years . . . to reduce our principality . . . to obedience.”⁸⁴ Egged on by that arch-intriguer John Lascaris Calopherus and supported by the count of Savoy, Amadeo was quite beguiled by the idea of gaining Greek recognition as the prince of Achaea. He had troubles enough at home, but he thought for a while of approaching his Genoese neighbors to help him in the Greek adventure. Eventually he turned to Venice, perhaps at the instigation of Calopherus, whom he sent to the senate to seek passage for a sizeable force to the Morea. Amadeo had already sent envoys into the Morea, and negotiated with Peter Bordo and the despot Theodore.⁸⁵

Although the affair of Argos had drawn the Navarrese and Venetians together in their common hostility to the despot, they were unsteady allies. Nerio’s captivity seemed to be serving no purpose, and was quite as embarrassing to the Venetians as to Theodore. The Florentines were seeing to that. Argos was the chief complaint the Venetians had against Nerio, then confined in the castle of Listrina near Vostitsa; any fool could see that his confinement was not helping them to get the city, and there were few fools in the Venetian senate. The despot had continued his struggle with the Navarrese, and launched attacks upon Venetian territories.⁸⁶ The senate sought a clearer understanding with the Navarrese as to Nerio’s position, and on May 22, 1390, at a rendezvous two miles from Vostitsa, the castellan of Modon and Coron and the republic’s high commissioners of Romania reached a preliminary agreement with Nerio himself, looking toward the recovery of his freedom and the Venetian occupation of Argos.⁸⁷

84. Gregorovius, “Corrispondenza Acciajoli,” *Sitzungsb. d. Akad. zu München*, II, 306; *idem* (trans. Lampros), *Athens* [in Greek], II, 651.

85. See in general R. Cessi, “Amedeo di Acaia e la rivendicazione dei domini sabaudi in Oriente,” *Nuovo archivio veneto*, new series, XXXVII (1919), 5–64, with selections from the accounts of the “treasurer of Achaea,” *Archivio di Stato di Torino*, Principato d’Acaia. Cf. David Jacoby, “Jean Lascaris Calophéros,” *Revue des études byzantines*, XXVI (1968), 214–216.

Amadeo of Savoy, commonly known to Italian history as Amadeo of Achaea—not to be confused with Amadeo VII (1383–1391), the Red Count of Savoy, a mistake made by Zakythinos, *Le Despotat grec de Morée*, I, 135, 137, 149, 150, and Thiriet, *Régestes*, I, no. 779, pp. 187–188—died at Pinerolo on May 7, 1402, and was succeeded in his Piedmontese possessions by his brother Louis (d. 1418), last Savoyard claimant to the princely title of Achaea.

86. Thiriet, *Régestes*, I, no. 773, p. 186, dated April 23, 1390.

87. The first agreement between Nerio and the Venetians, dated May 22, 1390, has been published from the *Commemoriali*, book VIII, fol. 180, by L. de Mas Latrie, “Documents concernant divers pays de l’Orient latin, 1382–1413,” *Bibliothèque de l’École des chartes*,

After about a year's captivity Nerio was released late in the year 1390. As stipulated, his daughter Frances was to become a hostage in his stead, committed to the care of the Venetians at Negroponte. Nerio did not have to admit the Venetians into Athens and Thebes, but he turned Megara over to them, as well as all his goods in Corinth, as a pledge that when he had regained his freedom he would prevail upon Theodore to surrender Argos, or else would join the Venetians against him. Thus peace was restored between Nerio and the republic, and when the terms thereof had finally been fulfilled, the "black bridge" at Negroponte could again be opened, and Venetians could trade again with the Athenian duchy.⁸⁸ But the peace with Nerio brought the Venetians little immediate benefit. Theodore continued to hold Argos, and now the Turks were assailing Nauplia.⁸⁹ Since Nerio was continuing to pay a heavy price for Theodore's intransigence, a rift occurred between them, and Theodore became isolated in the peninsula. At long last, however, Nerio bought him off, and on June 11, 1394, Theodore surrendered Argos to the Venetians,⁹⁰ thus concluding an ill-advised adventure which had thrown Latin Greece into turmoil and made the Ottoman Turks feel at home in the Morea.

In the meantime Amadeo of Savoy had been pursuing his dogged if

LVIII (1897), 98–102, and summarized by R. Predelli, ed., *Regesti dei Commemoriali*, III (Venice, 1883), no. 343, p. 206. The negotiations continued (*op. cit.*, no. 348), and four years later the despot Theodore finally agreed to give up Argos (nos. 408–411, 413). Cf. *Chronicon breve*, ad ann. 6902 (1394), appended to Ducas's *Historia byzantina* (CSHB, p. 516).

88. Cf. Hopf, in Ersch and Gruber, LXXXVI (1868; repr., II, 1960), 51–52. The prohibition against the export of figs and currants, *que nascantur in terris et locis domini Nerii Romanie basse et ducaminis*, passed by the Venetian senate on June 22, 1389, was renewed with heavier penalties on September 1, 1390 (Misti, Reg. 41, fol. 101^r; Thiriet, *Régestes*, I, no. 778, p. 187), and retained for some time thereafter. In May 1391 James, the bishop of Argos, was in Venice seeking modification and clarification of the articles of agreement obtaining between Nerio and the republic (Misti, Reg. 42, fol. 1, dated May 26, and misdated in the summary of Thiriet, I, no. 792, p. 190).

89. Misti, Reg. 41, fol. 127^r, dated February 21, 1391, in the Venetian style: "Cum loca nostra Neapolis Romanie, Coroni et Mothoni multum opprimantur a Turchis et quotidie dicti Turchi capiant de nostris et vadant in cursum circa loca nostra predicta, et precipue tenent locum nostrum Neapolis sub tanta obsidione," the senate took steps to send a galley to relieve the Turkish "siege" of Nauplia, for no one dared to emerge from the town (cf. Thiriet, *Régestes*, I, no. 784, p. 189).

90. Lampros, *Eggrapha*, part II, doc. 7, p. 114, a letter to Donato Acciajuoli dated at Venice on July 30, 1394. Having broken with the Turks and being pressed by the Navarrese, the despot Theodore had seen the advantage of an accord with Venice, which was reached in the treaty of Modon dated May 27, 1394, by which he ceded Argos to the republic (for the text, see Lampros, *Eggrapha*, part V, doc. 10, pp. 374–385, especially pp. 379 ff., and cf. Zakythinos, *Le Despotat grec de Morée*, I, 138–143, and Loenertz, "Pour l'histoire du Péloponnèse . . .," *Études byzantines*, I, 172–184).

confused policy of trying to obtain the principality of Achaea. Although he seemed to veer toward Nerio and the despot Theodore, he needed Venetian transport to get his troops to Greece. On August 12, 1390, the senate flatly declared “that he could not achieve his objective without coming to an understanding with the Navarrese,”⁹¹ and Amadeo was quite prepared to do so. Some six weeks later, in actions of September 20–26, the senate agreed to carry a Piedmontese force of three hundred mounted lancers and six hundred foot or bowmen into the Morea, and Amadeo committed himself to helping the Venetians oust the despot from Argos by force if necessary.⁹² The Venetians were of course no more concerned that Amadeo should become prince of Achaea than he was that they should acquire Argos. He exchanged envoys with Peter Bordo and the Navarrese, and finally reached an accord with them which took little or no stock of Venetian interests. But he quickly abandoned the Navarrese,⁹³ and turned once more to the ever-ready Nerio, who had taken up residence in Athens. On December 29, 1391, Nerio met with Amadeo’s envoys in the palace chapel on the Acropolis, and as the “lord of Corinth, the duchy of Athens, and Neopatras” he recognized Amadeo, prince of Achaea, as his suzerain. Nerio now promised to drive the Navarrese from the Morea, and to enlist the aid of the despot Theodore in the undertaking, although he acknowledged his own commitment to the Venetians to wrest Argos from Theodore! He asked for the “restitution” of the Acciajuoli estates in the old castellany of Corinth (the lands of the grand seneschal Nicholas), and he made a special request for Vostitsa, which Amadeo’s envoys assured him he would have.⁹⁴ Fortunately perhaps for Amadeo, as he boldly faced all four cardinal points of the diplomatic compass at the same time, the death of his namesake and supporter, Amadeo VII, the Red Count of Savoy (on November 1, 1391), deflected his attention to Piedmontese and Savoyard affairs. Amadeo never got to Greece, where he had made an alliance with almost everyone except the Turks.

91. Misti, Reg. 41, fol. 98^v.

92. Cessi, “Amedeo di Acaia,” *Nuovo archivio veneto*, n.s., XXXVII, 24–27; Predelli, *Regesti dei Commemorativi*, III, no. 352, p. 209; Thiriet, *Régestes*, I, no. 779, pp. 187–188. About this time Amadeo wrote Theodore a letter assuring him of his princely affection, to which Theodore returned a courteous response (Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et diplomata*, III, 249–250).

93. Cf. Cessi, “Amedeo di Acaia,” *Nuovo archivio veneto*, n.s., XXXVII, 35–36, 40.

94. Lampros, *Eggrapha*, part VI, doc. 1, pp. 405–407, also published by Cessi, *Nuovo archivio veneto*, XXXVII, 40–42. Nerio had purchased Vostitsa, together with Nivelet, from Marie of Bourbon, princess of Achaea, and her son Hugh of Galilee in 1364 (cf. Du Cange [ed. Buchon], *Constantinople*, II, 265; Buchon, *Recherches et matériaux*, I [1840], 347).

In his pact with Amadeo, Nerio claimed possession of Neopatras. He had presumably taken it from the Catalan castellan Andrew Zavall, but he soon lost it to the Turks. Sultan Bayazid I invaded central Greece toward the end of 1393 and the beginning of 1394. He occupied Neopatras and Livadia, and seized the county of Salona together with its dependencies of Zeitounion, Loidoriki, and Veteranitsa. Nerio must have received the news with trepidation. On February 20, 1394, he wrote his brother Donato from Corinth that the Gran Turco had descended into Greece from Thessalonica, taken Salona, and sent the much-wooed Maria Fadrique, daughter of countess Helena Cantacuzena, into his harem.⁹⁵ Now Nerio would have to pay tribute to the Turk for the Athenian duchy. To pope Boniface IX the situation in central Europe and in Greece looked desperate, and so it was: his holiness shuddered to think of what the Turks had done. A crusade was proclaimed to save eastern Christendom from the direst peril.⁹⁶

Nerio Acciajuoli had reached the pinnacle of his career and was nearing the end of his life. Like the early Catalan dukes before him, however, he held Athens only by right of conquest. He was anxious to secure a more constitutional basis for his possession of the duchy. He turned to Italy, to Rome and Naples, for the legitimization of his position. King Ladislás of Naples, the young son of Charles III of Durazzo (d. 1386), still preserved the Angevin claim to the suzerainty of Achaea, upon which the duchy of Athens rested in feudal dependence. Recalling the great services which Nerio had allegedly rendered the house of Anjou-Durazzo, and professing to regard him as having wrested "the duchy of Athens, part of our principality of Achaea, . . . from the hands of some of our rivals," king Ladislás formally bestowed upon Nerio and the legitimate (male) heirs of his body, in perpetuity, the city and duchy of Athens with all the rights and appurtenances accruing to them. Louis Aliotti, archbishop of Athens, promised on Nerio's behalf to render the royal prince of Achaea whatever feudal service adhered by custom to the ducal fief, and at Gaeta on January 11, 1394, Ladislás invested his grace of Athens, as Nerio's proxy, with the fief by placing a ring on his finger.⁹⁷ Nerio, however, had

95. Gregorovius, "Corrispondenza Acciajoli," *Sitzungsb. d. Akad. zu München*, II, 307; *idem* (tr. Lampros), *Athens* [in Greek], II, 652; *Dipl.*, doc. DCXLIV, pp. 673–674. Contrary to Gregorovius, *loc. cit.*, this letter is not an autograph, as shown by the postscript which he failed to transcribe and apparently forgot. Chalcocondylas, *Historia*, II (*CSHB*, pp. 67–69; ed. Darkó, I, 62–63), gives a detailed account of the Turkish invasion and the fall of Helena—and of "a certain priest named Strates with whom she was in love"—which may be generally accurate, but the names he gives to the characters in his drama are peculiar (on which note Hopf, in Ersch and Gruber, LXXXVI [repr., II], 62, note 83).

96. O. Raynaldus, *Annales ecclesiastici*, ad ann. 1394, vol. VII (1752), pp. 584–585.

97. Buchon, II. *Florence*: doc. XL1, pp. 223–228; *Dipl.*, doc. DCXLIII, pp. 671–673, the

no legitimate male heirs; his only son, Antonio, was the child of his mistress Maria Rendi. On the next day therefore, with cardinal Angelo's consent, Ladislas provided that the Athenian succession should pass to Donato and the latter's legitimate sons "in case the said Nerio should depart this life without leaving legitimate male heirs of his body even if legitimate daughters should survive him,"⁹⁸ which excluded Bartolommea, the wife of the despot Theodore, and Frances, who had married Charles I Tocco, the duke of Leucadia (Leucas, or Santa Maura) and count palatine of Cephalonia.

As in the days of the grand seneschal Nicholas a half century before, the Acciajuoli star seemed to be in the ascendant, and on January 14 king Ladislas appointed his "dearest friend" cardinal Angelo, then the apostolic legate and bailie of the Neapolitan kingdom, as his vicar in the principality of Achaea and the city of Lepanto with full jurisdiction over matters relating "both to justice and to war."⁹⁹ The Acciajuoli family had reached its height, but now it was stricken with misfortune. Nerio died suddenly, and his brother Donato lost the Athenian succession which Ladislas had just granted him. The sad news was contained in a letter which James, the bustling bishop of Argos, wrote at Nauplia on November 2, 1394, to Donato in Florence: "... With extreme bitterness of heart I inform your excellency that the magnificent lord Nerio, your excellency's brother, ended his last day on the 25th of the month of September just passed. And after his death the despot [Theodore] seized all the castles of the castellany of Corinth. He is even holding the fortress [Acrocorinth] and the city of Corinth under siege. Moreover, the bastard of the aforesaid lord Nerio [Antonio Acciajuoli, later duke of Athens] and Bertranet [Mota de Salahia, who was said in 1393 to be in possession of Livadia]¹⁰⁰ are wholeheartedly on the despot's side, and are staying with him in the field fighting against Corinth and your other places. Unless your lordship provides quick relief, the said despot will completely occupy the whole country acquired by your house up to now."¹⁰¹

diploma of investiture, with its usual wording. On June 1, 1398, Louis Aliotti was transferred from Athens to the see of Volterra, near Florence and Siena (Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, I, 115, 536, and cf. p. 349, note 10).

98. Buchon, II, *Florence*: doc. XLII, pp. 228-231.

99. Buchon, II, *Florence*: doc. XLIV, pp. 234-236.

100. *Dipl.*, docs. DCXXXVII-DCXXXIX, pp. 666-668, letters of king John I of Aragon, dated at Valencia on April 13, 1393, on which note Loenertz, *Arch. FF. Praed.*, XXV, no. 213, p. 154.

101. The letter appears to be unknown and unpublished (Univ. of Pennsylvania Library, Lea MS. 28-II, ep. 29). Its contents, however, are well known from a similar text sent by the bishop of Argos to cardinal Angelo, which has been rather carelessly published by Gregoro-

Eight days before his death, lying ill at Corinth, Nerio dictated his will, fearing perhaps that he had achieved success at the cost of salvation. He directed that his body be buried in the Parthenon, "the church of St. Mary of Athens—likewise we leave to the church of St. Mary of Athens the city of Athens, with all its appurtenances and effects."¹⁰² His chief thought, in these last days, seems to have been for the Parthenon, for its cathedral staff, and for the masses he wanted said for his soul. He left the church his valuable stud of brood mares, and wanted the portals of the Parthenon, once adorned with silver, to be decked out in silver again; likewise all the jewels, vestments, gold, silver, and precious stones of which the church had been stripped to help ransom him from the Navarrese "should be repurchased and restored to the said church of Athens." In addition to the twelve canons who had served in the cathedral since the Catalan era,¹⁰³ Nerio provided for twenty priests, who were to be "Latins of the Catholic faith," to serve night and day, "and celebrate masses for the salvation of our soul." He wanted the income of the church and of the brood mares to be used for the support of the twenty priests, according to the discretion of the executors of his will, as well as for the fabric and general maintenance of the Parthenon. Since obviously neither the priests nor the executors of his will could defend Athens for St. Mary, Nerio placed the church and city "under the protection and guidance of the exalted and illustrious ducal signoria of Venice."¹⁰⁴

Among other bequests, Nerio left Antonio Acciajuoli, his son by Maria Rendi, the castle of Livadia and his property therein, as well as the city of Thebes. To his elder daughter Bartolommea, who had married the despot of Mistra, Theodore I Palaeologus, Nerio left only the 9,700 ducats of gold "which the despot, her husband, took from the signoria of Venice." Nerio had made the sum good; Theodore had never repaid him. But what Bartolommea got, her husband got, and so Nerio directed that she should be allowed no other claim against his estate. He clearly entertained some animus against Theo-

vius, "Corrispondenza Acciajoli," *Sitzungsb. d. Akad. zu München*, II, 308–309, and cf. *idem* (trans. Lampros), *Athens* [in Greek], II, 653–654, where the transcription is still poor.

102. The text of Nerio's will, dated at Corinth on September 17, 1394, may be found in Buchon, II, *Florence*: doc. XLVIII, pp. 254–261, and Lampros, *Aggrafa*, part III, doc. 4, pp. 146–152.

103. Cf. *Dipl.*, doc. CDXIV, p. 497, a letter of king Peter IV dated at Lerida on September 12, 1380: "... XII canonici ecclesie sedis de Cetines . . ." There had also been a dozen canons on the cathedral staff of Thebes in the early thirteenth century (cf. Pietro Pressutti, *I Regesti del pontefice Onorio III*, I [Rome, 1884], no. 331, p. 93, and *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, I [Rome, 1888], no. 356, p. 63).

104. Lampros, *Aggrafa*, pp. 147–148; Buchon, II, 255.

dore, and he had good reason for doing so. As for Bartolommea, she was reputed to surpass in beauty all the women of her time.¹⁰⁵ Obviously the Acciajuoli had done quite enough for Theodore. Nerio made his daughter Frances his chief heiress—possibly because he had had no trouble with her husband, Charles Tocco, who thus stood to gain most from the success of the Acciajuoli in Greece. Frances was to receive immediately “peaceful possession” of the castle of Megara, the Basilicata (the ancient Sicyon), and 30,000 hyperpers in money and jewels. She was in fact to receive all Nerio’s lands except those which went to others by specific bequests. If she had had children by the time of his death, she was to take over these lands immediately, but in any event they were to become hers in three years. Finally, Frances was to receive Corinth if the grand seneschal Robert Acciajuoli, son of the Angelo who had mortgaged the city to Nerio, did not wish “to repay the money which he owes me.”¹⁰⁶ Nerio’s wife Agnes de’ Saraceni was already dead, and so he had no need to make provision for her. Nerio had apparently already promised the despot Theodore the eventual occupancy of Corinth as part of Bartolommea’s dowry, but he had in effect left the city and its towering fortress to Frances’s husband, Charles Tocco of Leucadia and Cephalonia.¹⁰⁷ He had lived amid warfare and wealth through most of his years in Greece, and now he passed them both on to his heirs.

Nerio named seven executors of his will, including the duchess Frances, bishop James of Argos, and Matthew of Montona, his castellan of the Acropolis. Should any one of the legatees wish to deprive Frances of any of the bequests her father thus left her, Nerio directed that he be considered a “traitor, and deprived of every legacy that we have left him.” He was doubtless thinking of the despot, and assumed that he would attack Corinth. Inventories of his properties were to be made, and each of the seven executors was to have one. Finally, Nerio commended his lands to the signoria of Venice, and the signoria to his executors, who should look to Venice when they needed help, and “the said executors are to do every honor to the said signoria,” on whose integrity he had to rely for the protection of Frances’s rights.¹⁰⁸

105. Chalcocondylas, *Historia*, IV (CSHB, p. 208; ed. Darkò, I, 195).

106. Lampros, *Eggrapha*, pp. 150–151; Buchon, II, 258–260.

107. Cf. Chalcocondylas, *Historia*, IV (CSHB, pp. 207–208, 213; ed. Darkò, I, 194–195, 200). However, according to Niccolò Serra, *Storia di Zante* [1784], ed. Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes*, p. 342, “Si unì poscia [Carlo de’ Tocchi] in seconde nozze a Francesca figlia di Reniero o Neri Acciajuoli duca di Atene colla promessa della signoria di Corinto dopo la morte del di lei padre, il quale in fatti morendo le lasciò in eredità questa porzione de’ suoi stati.”

108. Lampros, *Eggrapha*, pp. 151–152; Buchon, II, 259–261.

As soon as Nerio's death was known, the despot Theodore overran Corinthia and seized all the castles in the castellany. As we have seen, bishop James of Argos sent the news from Nauplia on November 2 to Nerio's brother Donato in Florence (and to cardinal Angelo as well), reporting that Theodore was laying siege to the fortress city of Corinth, where Nerio's son Antonio and Bertranet de Salahia had taken the field with him, being "wholeheartedly on the despot's side." Charles Tocco was already in Corinth. Probably the dying Nerio had assisted in the changing of the guard. We are fortunate enough to have a contemporary description of events written by the industrious notary Nicholas of Martoni, from the small town of Carinola, near Capua, who spent February 24 and 25 (1395) in Athens on his way back from a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Nicholas informs us, "We could not get to the city of Corinth by land because of the widespread fighting then going on between the duke of Cephalonia and the despot of the Morea, brother of the emperor of Constantinople, over the lands left by the lord Nerio, duke of Athens, who was the father-in-law of the said duke and despot. The duke had on his side a large armed force of Turks, and was allied with the lord Turk against the said despot."¹⁰⁹

Nicholas and his party went on, therefore, "as far as the castle of Megara, which the said duke of Cephalonia had recently taken over on behalf of his wife, a daughter of the lord Nerio . . . , [but] which we could not enter, because the castle was under tight guard for fear of the despot of the Morea, who was trying to get it from the duke, his brother-in-law, on behalf of *his* wife, who was likewise a daughter of the said lord Nerio. . . . Sailors told us we could not get into Corinth without the greatest personal danger on account of the troops of the despot, . . . who shortly before had put the said city of Corinth under siege with a great army, about 20,000 men bearing arms, trying to acquire the city for his wife [Bartolommea] as the lord Nerio's first-born daughter. The duke, perceiving that he could not withstand the might of the despot, his brother-in-law, joined with the Turk against the despot, and so a Turkish force, about 40,000 horse, came over one night to Corinth, and suddenly fell upon the camp of the despot's troops, broke it up, scattered all his people, and captured about 3,000 of the despot's horse. The despot himself barely escaped capture. . . ."¹¹⁰

109. Léon Legrand, ed., "Relation du pèlerinage à Jérusalem de Nicolas de Martoni, notaire italien," *Revue de l'Orient latin*, III (Paris, 1895; repr. Brussels, 1964), 649 [concerning Nicholas's arrival in Athens on February 24, 1395], 652–653. In Nicholas's time Acrocorinth was itself the city of Corinth, as his account makes clear (pp. 658–659). On his description of Athens, cf. Setton, *Catalan Domination*, pp. 227–232.

110. Legrand, "Relation . . .," in *Revue de l'Orient latin*, III, 653–657.

Although Nicholas of Martoni's account suggests that Charles Tocco was determined to hold on to his wife's Corinthian inheritance, he was finally obliged to give way. Shortly after Nicholas and his companions left Corinth, Charles Tocco offered both the Corinthian citadel and that of Megara to Venice "for a certain sum of money," as the bailie and councillors of Negroponte informed the senate in letters dated May 15 (1395). The senate distrusted him, and hesitated to accept his offer,¹¹¹ but Tocco was presumably quite willing to sell what he could not hold. Finally yielding, however, to military necessity or political expediency (or to both), he surrendered Acrocorinth to Theodore Palaeologus, who reestablished the Greek metropolitan see, and had his statue set up by the main gate with a metrical inscription recalling his imperial descent and celebrating his prowess in wresting the city from the "western Italians."¹¹²

As Nerio Acciajuoli had faced the prospect of the next world, he seems to have lost his sense of the practicable in this one. St. Mary could not govern Athens, and the castellan Matthew of Montona was afraid that she was not going to protect the Acropolis. Continental Greece and the Morea were alive with Turks. Sultan Bayazid I had taken Salona, supported Theodore Palaeologus against the Venetians, and was now assisting Charles Tocco against Theodore. As the Latins diminished in numbers and strength, Montona appealed for support to Andrew Bembo, the Venetian bailie of Negroponte. He proposed that the republic take over the Acropolis, see to the fulfilment of the terms of Nerio's will, and maintain the Athenians in the possession of their rights and privileges. Bembo accepted Montona's offer, subject to the approval of the home government, and from the end of the year 1394 a Venetian garrison manned the defenses on the Acropolis. Montona had also sent one Leonard of Bologna as his envoy to Venice, and after "several months," on March 18, 1395, the senate voted to take over the city of Athens, for if it were to end up in Turkish or other hands, it might be the destruction of the rich island of Euboea. The Venetian rectors would be instructed to observe all the franchises, liberties, privileges, and rights of the Athenians, while Montona was to receive an annual pension of 400 hyperpers for life, and Leonard of Bologna 200, "from the revenues of the said city."¹¹³

111. Misti, Reg. 43, fol. 75^r, dated July 23, 1395. Of course Tocco promised the senate to behave himself, but he was hard to deal with (*ibid.*, fols. 78^r, 78^v, 120^r, 120^v, 123^r). Cf. Thiriet, *Régestes*, I, nos. 883, 886, 905, pp. 208, 209, 212–213.

112. Zakythinós, *Le Despotat grec de Morée*, I, 144–145; Lampros, *Παλαιολογία και Πελοποννησιακά*, IV (1930), 11.

113. On August 19, 1400, the Venetian senate assigned Leonard's pension at his own

Although these provisions for Montona and Leonard did not cause serious difficulty in the senate, there was some disagreement concerning the terms under which Venice should add Athens to her Greek possessions. The motion was thus made "that the lordship of the said city of Athens be received and taken up for rule and governance by our signoria according to the form and testament of the lord Nerio Acciajuoli, but because his stud of brood mares, which have been stolen, now fails us, and from this source the said church was drawing the greater part of its revenues and the necessary expenses were to be met therefrom, and also because the times are critical, and the said city of Athens requires a larger garrison and expenditures [for defense] than if the times were peaceful, . . . let it be established that for the present there shall be assigned to the celebration of divine offices in the church of St. Mary of Athens only eight priests. . . ." ¹¹⁴

The Venetians were more interested in saving Athens than Nerio's soul, and probably no new priests were added at all to the cathedral staff of the Parthenon. In any event, appointment to the governorship of Athens was not an attractive prospect, whether because of the Turkish danger or not, and on April 20 (1395) the salary for the position was raised from 60 to 70 pounds, "because all those who have been elected podestà and captains of the city of Athens have declined [to go]," ¹¹⁵ paying very likely the accustomed pen-

request to his aged father, who lived in Venice (Misti, Reg. 45, fol. 26^v, text published by C. N. Sathas, *Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au moyen âge*, II [Paris, 1881], no. 224, p. 8). Matthew of Montona is not identified as a Venetian in the documents, but may have come from Montona in Istria where the republic sometimes maintained a podestà (Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Mar, Reg. 4, fol. 34^r, dated January 18, 1451). Very little of Montona's pension was actually paid (Sathas, II, no. 220, pp. 6-7, and see below).

114. Misti, Reg. 43, fols. 50^v-51^r, published by F. Gregorovius, "Die erste Besitznahme Athens durch die Republik Venedig," *Sitzungsb. d. Akad. zu München*, I (1888), 152-156, especially p. 155, and *idem*, trans. Lampros, *Athens* [in Greek], II (1904), 621-624, and cf. Max Silberschmidt, *Das orientalische Problem zur Zeit der Entstehung des türkischen Reiches nach venezianischen Quellen [1381-1400]* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1923), pp. 94-95. The summary of the document in Thiriet, *Régestes*, I, no. 872, is both inadequate and inaccurate.

This motion received 11 votes of approval, 5 in opposition, with 17 (and 15) uncommitted votes (*non sinceri*). If the uncommitted votes amounted to a majority of those cast, a motion was defeated, and was not in fact resubmitted as a doubtful issue for resolution at the next meeting of the senate. Such was presumably the case here, and at any rate the register (Misti, Reg. 43, fol. 51^r) does not carry in the left-hand margin the upright cross which indicates senatorial approval of a motion and implies that steps were taken to put it into effect. Although Nerio's will had provided for twenty priests to say masses for his soul, the senate was apparently unwilling to maintain even eight. On the passage of a "motion" (*parte*) into a *decreto* by the senate, cf. Giuseppe Maranini, *La Costituzione di Venezia dopo la serrata del Maggior Consiglio* (Perugia, 1931), especially pp. 255-258. Votes *non sinceri* were not "abstentions"; every senator present at a given session was required by law to vote.

115. Misti, Reg. 43, fol. 52^v, senatorial decision dated April 20, 1395.

alty for refusal. By July 18, however, Albano Contarini had been chosen for the post, and had accepted it.¹¹⁶ He became “podestà and captain of our city of Athens” for two years with the higher annual salary of 70 pounds; he was cautioned to exercise a day-and-night vigilance lest anything untoward occur in the city and also to respect local rites and customs. If he found Athenian resources inadequate for the defense of the city, he was to have recourse to the castellans of Coron and Modon and the colonial government of Negroponte. The senate provided twenty archers or crossbowmen and two officers “for the defense and security of the said castle.”¹¹⁷

For some time after the Venetians took over the Acropolis their chief concern was the Turks, on whose activities the bailie of Negroponte sent worrisome reports to the senate. Athens was threatened as well as Euboea, and the plodding efforts of Venetian envoys and officials could find no answer to the perennial question of Turkish assault.¹¹⁸ It is sometimes stated that the Turks occupied the lower city of Athens in the spring or summer of 1397, but the evidence for assuming so is hardly conclusive.¹¹⁹ It is of course quite possible. The Turks did take Argos on June 3, 1397, sacked and burned the city, and are said to have carried off fourteen thousand persons into slavery.¹²⁰ Meetings of the Venetian senate were sad occasions as the news kept coming throughout the spring and summer of 1398

116. Misti, Reg. 43, fol. 71^r.

117. Misti, Reg. 43, fol. 76^v, publ. by Gregorovius, *Sitzungsab. d. Akad. zu München*, I, 156–158; *idem* (tr. Lampros), *Athens*, II, 624–626; Thiriet, *Régestes*, I, no. 885, p. 208; and cf. H. Noiret, *Documents inédits . . . de la domination vénitienne en Crète* (Paris, 1892), pp. 69, 71. Albano Contarini's commission is undated; the preceding entry in the Misti, *ibid.*, fol. 76^r, is dated August 8 (1395), not July 27, as stated by Gregorovius. Contarini was succeeded as governor of Athens by Lorenzo Venier (in 1397), Ermalao Contarini (1399), and Nicholas Vitturi (1400). By July 18, 1399, Albano Contarini had been appointed podestà and captain of Nauplia, and was to take over what was left of the government of Argos (Misti, Reg. 44, fol. 115^v).

118. Misti, Reg. 43, fol. 76^r, senatorial resolution dated August 3, 1395; cf. Thiriet, *Régestes*, I, no. 896, pp. 210–211.

119. Late Turkish sources place the obviously brief (if true) occupation of the lower city of Athens both before and after the battle of Nicopolis (September 25, 1396). Since some of these sources, however, identify Timurtash Pasha as the “conqueror” of the city, and since the also late but generally reliable *Chronicon breve*, ad ann. 6905, appended to Ducas's *Historia byzantina* (CSHB, p. 516), places Timurtash Pasha's Moreote campaign in June 1397 when Argos was taken, J. H. Mordtmann, “Die erste Eroberung von Athen durch die Türken zu Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts,” *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher*, IV (1923), 346–350, would date the so-called first Turkish occupation of Athens in 1397. Timurtash Pasha appears as Μουράτσης in the text of the *Chronicon breve*, which does not mention any sojourn of Turkish forces in Athens, and (more to the point) the Venetian senate seems to have known nothing about it.

120. The fall of Argos to the Turks was known in Venice by July 5 (Misti, Reg. 44, fol. 10^r): “Castellanis nostris Coroni et Mothoni scribatur qualiter displicenter audivimus casum ammissionis civitatis nostre Argolicensis . . .,” which posed a threat to Coron and Modon

that the Turks were also harassing Euboea and the Aegean islands,¹²¹ and that a serious plague was sweeping through the Morea and through Crete,¹²² the sixth great pestilence to strike the Morea and the islands since the Black Death of 1348.

The despot Theodore Palaeologus feared the Turks more than the plague. In 1397 he sold the important citadel of Corinth (which he had just taken from his Latin brother-in-law Charles Tocco) as well as some other strongholds to the Hospitallers, reserving of course the right of repurchase.¹²³ He believed the Hospitallers could defend Corinth better than he, but he was able to redeem the city and his other strongholds in 1404 after the battle of Ankara and the Christian pact with Suleiman, the emir of Adrianople. In the meantime, however, fear of the Turk was the mainspring of almost every political decision or social enterprise in Greece.

Venetian galleys and cogs continued their usual runs to Trebizond, Syria, and Egypt, and the usual profits were made in spices, wine, grain, sugar, silk, furs, cotton, hemp, and jewels. It was big business. The Patras trade alone amounted to some 80,000 ducats during the first eight or nine months of 1400,¹²⁴ but there was a mounting dread of the Turk. Conditions had become so bad in the Morea toward the end of the year 1399 that the despot Theodore sent a Greek monk to Venice, requesting asylum for himself and his family. The senate was willing to let bygones be bygones, and the Palaeologi could take up residence in Venice if Theodore made some amends for the losses he and his people had caused Venetian subjects in the past.¹²⁵ Now, on August 3, 1400, one Nicholas Vitturi was in

(cf. Thiriet, *Régestes*, I, no. 936, p. 219). See Chalcocondylas, *Historia*, II (*CSHB*, pp. 97–99), and Gregorovius (trans. Lampros), *Athens*, II, 265. The Venetians had been cautiously pressing anti-Turkish plans upon king Sigismund of Hungary and the Byzantine emperor Manuel II (Thiriet, I, nos. 931–932, p. 218). By a decree of the senate of July 27, 1399, all the remaining inhabitants of Argos were to be repatriated, if possible, and those who returned were to be exempt for five years from all service except guard duty on the walls—there were many *territoria vacua* in which they could build houses (Misti, Reg. 44, fol. 119^r; summary in Thiriet, *Régestes*, I, no. 967, p. 224).

121. Misti, Reg. 44, fols. 43^v–44^r, 61^v–62^r, 67^v.

122. Misti, Reg. 44, fols. 42^v, 57^v, and cf. Loenertz, "La Chronique brève moréote de 1423," *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, II-1, 425, and *Chronicon breve*, ad ann. 6907 (Sept. 1398–Aug. 1399; *CSHB*, p. 517).

123. Loenertz, "Pour l'histoire du Péloponnèse . . .," *Études byzantines*, I, 186–196, and cf. Zakythinos, *Le Despotat grec de Morée*, I, 158–160.

124. Misti, Reg. 45, fol. 33^r, senatorial resolution dated September 10, 1400: the Venetian captain of the gulf was to provide an escort of armed galleys for merchantmen (summary in Thiriet, *Régestes*, II [1959], no. 993, p. 13). A year later the goods bonded at Patras were said to be worth 60,000 to 70,000 ducats (*ibid.*, II, no. 1030, p. 21).

125. Theodore asked the senate (Misti, Reg. 44, fol. 133^v, dated December 30, 1399) "ut dignaremur sibi saluum conductum facere pro se, uxore, filiis nobilibus suis, et rebus et

Venice, preparing to set out with his family for Athens; he would go first to Negroponte, whence a galley would take him to Piraeus.¹²⁶ He was to be the last Venetian governor to reside on the Acropolis.

Although Timur the Lame and his warriors were mounting a huge offensive against the Ottomans, and sultan Bayazid was collecting reinforcements against them, the Turkish menace remained. The senate lamented the terrible razzias upon the region of Coron and Modon,¹²⁷ which took place even while the Ottoman government at Adrianople was preparing to meet Timur's onslaught. On September 20, 1401, the Venetian senate authorized Nicholas Vitturi to spend 200 hyperpers to repair the walls,¹²⁸ presumably on the defenses of the Acropolis, because such a paltry sum would hardly improve the fortifications of the lower city, where a determined enemy was about to strike.

Antonio Acciajuoli, the bastard son of Nerio and Maria Rendi, suddenly swooped down upon Athens in force. His seizure of the lower city (in part at least) and his siege of the Acropolis were known in Venice well before August 22, 1402, when the Venetian senate decided to take drastic action against him. Letters were dispatched to the colonial government of Negroponte, authorizing an increase of the cavalry force at its command "from 200 to 300 beyond the fifty for which permission was previously accorded the said government." With this force, and with the bowmen and foot soldiers which they could raise locally, the bailie and councillors of Negroponte were to strive manfully "for the recovery of our city of Athens and for the injury and destruction of Antonio Acciajuoli and of Thebes and his other possessions." They were to strengthen the Acropolis and see to the supplies of munitions and food.¹²⁹ Save Athens, destroy Thebes, remove Antonio Acciajuoli. It was all easier said than done.

Francis Bembo had the misfortune to be the bailie and captain of Negroponte at this time (1401–1402). Gathering together all the

bonis quibuscumque suis ita quod . . . possit cum securitate et sine aliqua molestia ad civitatem nostram Venetiarum venire . . ." (summary in Thiriet, *Régestes*, I, no. 972, p. 224). Emperor Manuel II was also thinking of a Venetian refuge (Thiriet, II, no. 978, p. 10, and N. Iorga, "Notes et extraits," *Revue de l'Orient latin*, IV [1896, repr. 1964], 228).

126. Misti, Reg. 45, fol. 25^v, text in Sathas, *Documents inédits*, II, no. 222, p. 7.

127. Sathas, II, no. 235, p. 17, dated March 1, 1401. The Venetians followed Timur's progress with close attention (Iorga, "Notes et extraits," *Revue de l'Orient latin*, IV, 238 ff., 243, 245, 248–249, 254, 266 ff., 272).

128. Sathas, II, no. 256, p. 45.

129. Sathas, II, no. 310, pp. 91–92.

forces he could, he clearly took up the cudgels before receiving additional funds and final instructions from Venice. According to Chalcocondylas, Bembo marched with six thousand men from Negroponte against Thebes while Antonio Acciajuoli, when he heard of the Venetian advance, divided his men into two bands with not more than three hundred in each, and, in an unidentified pass, he caught Bembo's troopers in ambush, closed the entrance and exit to the pass, "and many of them he killed, others he captured, and he captured those who were then in command of their territory." Thereupon he returned to the siege of Athens, where treachery now opened the gates to one whose mother was Greek. Shortly thereafter he occupied the Acropolis, "and then he was lord of Attica as well as of Boeotia."¹³⁰

On October 7, 1402, gloomy senators gathered in the doge's palace on the Bacino to consider what they should do next, "because this new development, the capture of [Francis Bembo,] our bailie and captain of Negroponte, and of the entire force which was with him, is as hard as it can be and puts the city and island in a very dangerous position." The bad news had just come in a letter dated September 5 from the castellans of Coron and Modon.¹³¹ Since Antonio Acciajuoli was known to work hand in glove with the Turks,¹³² the senate drafted elaborate plans to meet the emergency. On October 8, however, more reassuring news reached Venice, obviously to the effect that neither Antonio nor the Turks had made or seemed to be preparing any attack upon Negroponte, and so the senate decided to "proceed in these matters with fuller deliberation than before."¹³³ Discussion was now revolving around the election of a *provveditore* for Negroponte. Thomas Mocenigo was chosen in due course, and set out for Modon, where the captain of the gulf was instructed to meet him, and where they could plan in full detail the defense of Negroponte.¹³⁴ By the end of the month (on October 30, 1402) the Venetian government had decided to try to negotiate "with the illustrious Antonio Acciajuoli, lord of Thebes, or with his commis-

130. Chalcocondylas, *Historia*, IV (CSHB, pp. 213–215; ed. Darkó, I, 200–201).

131. Sathas, II, no. 315, p. 101, lines 31 ff.

132. Cf. Chalcocondylas, *Historia*, IV (CSHB, p. 215; ed. Darkó, I, 201–202).

133. Sathas, II, no. 315, pp. 95–97, 99–100.

134. Sathas, II, p. 104. The Ottoman involvement with the hordes of Timur made some shifts likely in the axes of Levantine power, *propter mutationes et momenta que fient deinde occasione conflictus Turchorum* (*ibid.*, p. 102); Timur had overwhelmed sultan Bayazid I at Ankara in late July 1402, and the news was known in Venice before October 9 when the senate wrote the Byzantine emperor Manuel II *animo iocundanti* of the Ottoman defeat (Misti, Reg. 46, fol. 47^v, and Iorga, "Notes et extraits," *Revue de l'Orient latin*, IV, 254).

sioners and procurators a peace, agreement, or truce.”¹³⁵ On the same day the senate voted Mocenigo 1,700 ducats for the large expenses he could anticipate, and directed him to confer with Antonio, with whom the republic wished to be at peace. Mocenigo was to see to the recovery of Athens and to arrange for the exchange of prisoners. If Antonio would not relax his siege of the city, the officials of Negroponte would resume the war against him.¹³⁶ Of course it would have to be war. Words would not be enough to lift the siege of Athens, and (as events proved) even war was not enough.

Nicholas Vitturi, the podestà and captain of Athens, and Matthew of Montona, the late Nerio's onetime castellan, were finally forced to surrender the Acropolis to Antonio Acciajuoli. A later document (from the spring of 1409) says that Vitturi had defended the citadel for about seventeen months, and was under siege for most of the time. He would never have given up (we are told) had it been possible to get men and food to him. The garrison had eaten every horse but those in the Parthenon sculptures. Shortly after his withdrawal from Athens, Vitturi had died in Negroponte as a consequence of the privations he had suffered. He left his widow, a son, and a seventeen-year-old daughter “in great poverty . . . , [and] the said Antonio Acciajuoli never restored his possessions, which were of no small value.” The republic had to come to their aid.¹³⁷ Montona, whose Athenian pension of 400 hyperpers (voted him on March 18, 1394) had never been paid “except for a hundred hyperpers or thereabouts,”¹³⁸ would be invested with a fief on the island of Euboea “at the pleasure of our signoria” (on April 1, 1404),¹³⁹ from which

135. Sathas, I (1880), no. 4, pp. 4–5; Lampros, *Aggrafa*, part V, doc. 14, pp. 392–393. On Antonio I Acciajuoli, see Giambattista Ubaldini, “Origine della famiglia delli Acciaiuoli,” in his *Istoria della casa degli Ubaldini* (Florence, 1588), pp. 176–177, on which however cf. Setton, *Catalan Domination*, pp. 245–246.

136. Misti, Reg. 46, fol. 52^v, dated October 30, 1402. If Mocenigo and the councillors of Negroponte could get back the lower city of Athens, they were to try to learn the names of the traitors (*proditores*) who had assisted Antonio to take it. Iorga, “Notes et extraits,” *Revue de l'Orient latin*, IV, 256–257, has noted this text, which he misdates November 3. Mocenigo kept the senate well informed, but obviously could not prevail upon Antonio to abandon the siege of Athens. On February 10, 1403, the senate instructed Bernard Foscarini, the new bailie and captain of Negroponte, to investigate conditions in Attica and to try once more to deal with Antonio (Misti, Reg. 46, fol. 65). The senate wished Foscarini to come to some “treuguae et sufferentiae” with Antonio for a period of some months, but by this time Antonio had probably taken the Acropolis.

137. Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Grazie, Reg. 20 [originally no. 17, Oct. 1407–Jan. 1416 according to the Venetian style], fol. 14^r by modern enumeration [formerly fol. 31^r], of which a small part has been published by Iorga, “Notes et extraits,” *Revue de l'Orient latin*, IV, 303.

138. Sathas, II, no. 220, pp. 6–7, dated July 16, 1400.

139. Grazie, Reg. 19 [originally no. 16, March 1401–Jan. 1405 according to the Venetian style], fol. 44^r. The document has suffered from dampness.

grant he might draw a slender living for the signal service he had rendered the republic. The precise date of Antonio Acciajuoli's occupation of the Acropolis is still unknown, but it probably came in January or February of 1403.¹⁴⁰

The Venetians were determined to regain Athens in order to ensure the safety of their colony at Negroponte, and in the rapid flow of events they thought they saw their opportunity. On July 28, 1402, near Ankara, the redoubtable Bayazid I "the Thunderbolt," the victor at Nicopolis, was defeated by Timur the Lame, was captured, and died the following March in the conqueror's camp in Karamania. Constantinople was spared for another half century. Suleiman, the westernized emir in Adrianople, the eldest of Bayazid's four surviving sons, now appeared to have become the arbiter of Athens' destiny. The Venetians turned to him for help to regain the city, and Antonio Acciajuoli turned to him for support to keep what he had won. The Ottoman Turks were dismayed by the startling successes of Timur's hordes in Anatolia, "for going from one city to another," according to the historian Ducas, "they left such a wilderness where a city had been that one did not hear the barking of a single dog, the crow of a cock, or the cry of a child."¹⁴¹ Now, as the maritime powers seemed to be closing their ranks, the Ottoman Turks became ready to listen to Christian overtures. At least Suleiman was willing to do so, and in 1403 he made a treaty of commerce and a pact of alliance against Timur with Venice, Genoa, the Byzantine emperor, the duke of Naxos, and the Hospitallers on the island of Rhodes, agreeing among other conditions to return Thessalonica to the Byzantines, to grant the high contracting parties the right to trade in his domains, and to give Athens back to the Venetians.¹⁴²

As the sons of Bayazid got ready to fight among themselves, Timur turned eastward, and began preparations for an invasion not of Europe but of China. His exploits had startled the world, and knowledge of them had spread to every distant corner of Christen-

140. Peter Zeno, who was trying to conclude the Christian treaty of alliance with the emir Suleiman of Adrianople, early in 1403, reported about the same time to the Venetian government "che Antuonio Azaiuoli haveva habudo lo castelo de Sitine [Athens] e tegniva ancora i vostri prisioni [presumably including Francis Bembo, the former bailie of Negroponte] . . ." (Iorga, "Notes et extraits," *Revue de l'Orient latin*, IV, 259).

141. Ducas, *Historia byzantina*, XVII (CSHB, pp. 76–77).

142. L. de Mas Latrie, "Commerce et expéditions militaires de la France et de Venise au moyen âge," in the *Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France: Mélanges historiques*, III (Paris, 1880), no. XXII, pp. 178–182, esp. article 17, p. 181; Thomas, *Diplomatarium veneto-levantinum*, II, no. 159, p. 292; Iorga, "Notes et extraits," *Revue de l'Orient latin*, IV, 82, note 3, and 258–262, 268–269; and cf. Hopf, in Ersch and Gruber, LXXXVI (repr., II), 71a; Gregorovius (trans. Lampros), *Athens* [in Greek], II, 275–276; Wm. Miller, *Latins in the Levant* (London, 1908), p. 361.

dom. King Martin I of Aragon-Catalonia was sadly aware of Timur's destruction of Damascus (in January 1401), where there had been a colony of Catalan merchants.¹⁴³ He congratulated Manuel II upon Timur's destruction of Bayazid, the archenemy of Byzantium.¹⁴⁴ But king Martin looked with yearning, he wrote pope Benedict XIII, "to the confusion and final overthrow of that overweening Belial called 'Temorla' [Timurlenk], adherent of the Mohammedan sect," who had spread death and destruction everywhere before him, taken Smyrna and other strongholds from the Hospitallers with such fire and sword "that nothing of these places has remained except smoke and ashes."¹⁴⁵ Nevertheless, when Martin received a letter from Timur, he returned an answer in fulsome praise of the conqueror's incredible victories.¹⁴⁶ It was no longer necessary, however, either to fear Timur or to praise him, for on February 19, 1405, he died at Samarkand.

In the meantime Suleiman, who ruled European Turkey, had made no effort to oust Antonio Acciajuoli from Athens and to effect the restitution of the city to the Venetians. Antonio's relatives in Italy could again take pride in the possession of the Athenian duchy by one who bore their name. Angelo Acciajuoli, cardinal-bishop of Ostia and Velletri, dean of the sacred college, sent an envoy to Venice, as did Antonio himself, and the senate had much occasion to consider the problem of "our land of Athens."¹⁴⁷ Cardinal Angelo enlisted the aid of pope Innocent VII. King Ladislas, upon whose head Angelo had placed the crown of Naples fifteen years before, also supported Antonio's claim to the duchy which his majesty had professed to bestow upon Nerio a decade before. The Venetians were experts at diplomatic fencing, but on March 31, 1405, the Acciajuoli finally carried the day. An agreement was reached at Venice whereby Antonio was pardoned for all the losses and injuries he had inflicted upon the republic, which removed a price from his head and conceded "that Antonio should rule, have and hold and possess the land, castle, and city of Athens, in modern times called Sythines." As the ally and faithful son of the republic, Antonio was to send the church of St. Mark every Christmas a silk pallium worth not less than one hundred ducats. He promised to make the friends and foes of the republic his own, to pay for the munitions he had found on the

143. *Dipl.*, docs. DCLXVIII, DCXCI, pp. 693, 713.

144. *Dipl.*, doc. DCLXXVII, p. 699, dated June 27, 1403.

145. *Dipl.*, doc. DCLXXII, p. 695, dated March 5, 1403.

146. *Dipl.*, docs. DCLXXIX, DCLXXX, pp. 700–701, letters to Timur and his son dated April 1, 1404.

147. Misti, Reg. 46, fol. 120^r, dated January 29, 1404.

Acropolis when he had taken the citadel, to restore to the heirs of Nicholas Vitturi (the former governor of Athens) the goods he had seized from him at the time of the surrender, and to ban forever from his domain the erstwhile Greek metropolitan Macarius, who had preferred the Turkish crescent to the Latin cross, and who had apparently contrived to escape from his imprisonment in Venice. The marquis of Bodonitsa, as a citizen of the republic, was included in the pact, the infraction of which was to carry a penalty of 10,000 ducats.¹⁴⁸ But Antonio Acciajuoli neither sent St. Mark his pallia nor restored Vitturi's property, and the Venetians found him neither a dutiful son nor a loyal friend.¹⁴⁹

On July 23, 1406, for example, the senators who had gathered in their chamber at the doge's palace condemned Antonio's occupation of territory on the mainland opposite Negroponte which had been guaranteed to the republic in the Turkish peace of 1403. The motion, which was carried with only two negative and seven uncommitted votes, declared Antonio's aggression against the republic "absolutely intolerable . . . , but we are the more aggrieved considering how benignly and courteously we have received Antonio into our favor and made him the concession of our city of Athens forgetting the injuries and losses he has inflicted on our subjects."¹⁵⁰

Although to the Florentines the title *duca d'Atene* will always suggest the younger Walter of Brienne, who attained to lordship over Florence for a brief period, though never over Athens, their countryman Antonio I Acciajuoli was for some thirty-three years the duke of Athens (1403–1435). His was the longest rule in the medieval history of the illustrious city; the title he commonly bore was that of "lord of Athens, Thebes, of all the duchy and its dependencies."¹⁵¹ Antonio's long rule was comparatively prosperous and peaceful. He

148. Commemoriali, X, fols. 3–4^v, summarized in Predelli, *Regesti dei Commemoriali*, III, bk. X, no. 2, pp. 309–310; Gregorovius, *Stadt Athen*, II (Stuttgart, 1889), 273–275; *idem* (tr. Lampros), *Athens* [in Greek], II, 277–279.

149. Sathas, *Documents inédits*, II, nos. 365, 382, 420, pp. 135, 148–149, 183–184; Hopf, in Ersch and Gruber, LXXXVI (repr., II), 71–72; Miller, *Latins in the Levant*, pp. 361–362.

150. Misti, Reg. 47, fols. 60^v–61^r. Antonio had never sent the pallia he had promised to St. Mark's church, to which the senate obviously attached much symbolic importance (*ibid.*, fol. 61^r). The first pallium was apparently presented in August 1407 (*ibid.*, fol. 131^r; Sathas, II, no. 420, p. 184).

151. Buchon, *Nouvelles recherches historiques*, II (1845), *Florence*: doc. LXVIII, p. 289; cf. doc. LXIX, p. 290, and doc. LXXI, pp. 296–297, the latter being a document of Antonio's successor Nerio II; and note Nerio II's employment of the title *dominus Athenarum et Thebarum* (*ibid.*, docs. LXXII and LXXIII, pp. 298–299). Iorga summarizes a text referring to Nerio II, *qui est dominus Stives et Sithines* (i.e., of Thebes and Athens), in "Notes et extraits," *Revue de l'Orient latin*, VIII (1900–1901), 78.

never forgot that he was a Florentine, and Florence was becoming, in competition with Genoa and Venice, a great commercial power, whose galleys were plying the waters of the eastern Mediterranean in search of some share of the wealth of the Levant. In 1406 Florence had conquered the rival city of Pisa, where Catalan merchants abounded; in 1421 she purchased from the Genoese, hard pressed in their war with the duke of Milan, the port city of Leghorn (Livorno).¹⁵² On June 22, 1422, the Florentines instructed one of their citizens, Thomas Alderotti, to seek trading rights, “as good as those of the Venetians and the Genoese,” from “the magnificent Antonio Acciajuoli, lord of Corinth in Romania.”¹⁵³ Although the magnificent Antonio was not, and had never been, lord of Corinth, he was glad to acknowledge his Florentine origin and that of his family, and he granted to the most puissant signoria of Florence the same trading rights possessed in his domains by the “Venetians, Catalans, and Genoese.”¹⁵⁴ The Venetians in Negroponte found him a good neighbor and worried about him no more.¹⁵⁵ In Antonio’s time the Athenians appear to have suffered few misfortunes, although they must have shared in the horrified reaction of Greeks and Latins alike when in May 1423 the Turkish commander Turakhan Beg entered the Morea on a terrifying *razzia*, ravaging the land and attacking the cities of Mistra, Leondari, Gardiki, and Tabia.¹⁵⁶ But if the Turks did not strike at Attica and Boeotia that year, the plague did so, and the circle of Florentines who had gathered around Antonio was vastly relieved when by December the danger had finally passed.¹⁵⁷

Antonio died of a stroke in the summer of 1435.¹⁵⁸ He left no son

152. G. F. Pagnini del Ventura, *Della Decima e di varie altre gravezze imposte dal comune di Firenze* (4 vols., Lucca, 1765–1766; repr. Bologna, 1967), II, 28–30, with some notice of the Catalans.

153. Buchon, II, *Florence*: doc. LXVII, pp. 287–288.

154. Buchon, II, *Florence*: doc. LXVIII, pp. 289–290; Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et diplomata*, III, 251–252, doc. dated August 7, 1422.

155. Chalcocondylas, *Historia*, IV (CSHB, pp. 215–216; ed. Darkó, I, 202).

156. On Turakhan Beg’s Moreote campaign, see Iorga, “Notes et extraits,” *Revue de l’Orient latin*, V (1897, repr. 1964), 136; Chalcocondylas, *Historia*, V (CSHB, pp. 238–239; ed. Darkó, II-1, 16–17); *Chronicon breve*, ad ann. 6931 (1423), appended to Ducas, *Historia byzantina* (CSHB, p. 518); George Sphrantzes, *Chronicon minus*, in PG, CLVI, 1030BC; Pseudo-Sphrantzes (“Phrantzes”), *Annales*, I, 40 (CSHB, pp. 117–118); Sanudo, *Vite de’ duchi*, in Muratori, *RISS*, XXII, 970B, 975B, 978E; Loenertz, “La Chronique brève moréote de 1423,” *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, II (Studi e testi, no. 232, Vatican City, 1964), 434–435.

157. Buchon, II, *Florence*: docs. LIV, LX, pp. 271–272, 280–281.

158. Chalcocondylas, *Historia*, VI (CSHB, p. 320; ed. Darkó, II-1, 93); George Sphrantzes, *Chronicon minus*, in PG, CLVI, 1044B; Pseudo-Sphrantzes, *Annales*, II, 10 (CSHB, p. 159); Gregorovius (tr. Lampros), *Athens* [in Greek], II, 321.

to inherit the Athenian duchy, but at best it was a difficult inheritance. In October the senate wrote the colonial government of Negroponte that if the Turks or the heirs of Antonio undertook to occupy the Acropolis, they were to do so without Venetian interference.¹⁵⁹ Although the lord of Athens was supposed to be a vassal of the republic, the senate was obviously unwilling to try to maintain Venetian suzerainty over Attica and Boeotia, doubtless preferring to concentrate upon the defense of Negroponte against the Turks.

Although in 1394 king Ladislas of Naples had named as Nerio's heir the latter's brother Donato Acciajuoli, we have seen that Venetian governors and Nerio's son Antonio had succeeded him in the palace on the Acropolis. Donato had died in Florence in 1400, leaving three daughters and five sons; unlike their father, four of the sons were drawn to Greece, and three of them took up residence there. The lord Antonio employed one of them, Francis (or Franco), as an envoy to Venice,¹⁶⁰ and gave him the castle of Sykaminon (near Oropus), which had been for some years a stronghold of the Knights Hospitaller. Francis died about September 1419, leaving his young sons Nerio and Antonio a greater heritage than he himself had ever possessed, for the childless lord Antonio had already summoned the boys and their mother Margaret Malpigli to be with him in Greece.¹⁶¹ Both boys were to become dukes of Athens. When they first came to Athens (in 1413), at about three or four years of age, they were accompanied by their uncle Nerio, the third son of Donato.¹⁶² This Nerio di Donato Acciajuoli made at least one other visit to Athens (in 1423); he is an attractive figure, more interested in falconry and hunting than in fighting, a favorite of Charles I Tocco and Frances Acciajuoli, the duke and duchess of Leucadia.¹⁶³ Two other sons of Donato found ecclesiastical careers in Greece: Antonio became bishop of Cephalonia in 1427,¹⁶⁴ and John became, through

159. Sathas, I, doc. 131, p. 199.

160. Hopf, in Ersch and Gruber, LXXXVI (repr., II), 72; Gregorovius (tr. Lampros), *Athens*, II, 295–296; and the document dated at Venice on March 26, 1416 (Sathas, I, no. 43, p. 52).

161. Chalcocondylas, *Historia*, VI (CSHB, p. 320; ed. Darkó, II-1, 93), and note Buchon, II, *Florence*: doc. LXX, pp. 292–296, dated May 21, 1421. Margaret Malpigli was then living at Sykaminon with her two young sons.

162. Buchon has published a considerable correspondence addressed to Nerio di Donato Acciajuoli (II, *Florence*: docs. LIII, LIV, LVI–LVIII, LX–LXVI, pp. 269 ff.).

163. Cf. Buchon, I, 163–166; and II, *Florence*: docs. LXII–LXVI, pp. 282–286.

164. Buchon, II, *Florence*: doc. LIX, p. 280, and cf. the letter Antonio wrote to Nerio di Donato from Athens on December 16, 1423 (*ibid.*, doc. LX, pp. 280–281). Antonio appears with the name “de Morellis” in Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, I, 181.

the lord Antonio's influence, archbishop of Thebes.¹⁶⁵ The Florentines who came to Athens were delighted with what they found. One of them, a son of one of Donato's daughters, wrote from Athens in December 1423 to Nerio di Donato, then visiting his cousin, the duchess Frances, on the island of Leucas: "Ah, you have never seen a fairer land than this nor a finer fortress"—than the Acropolis!¹⁶⁶

After the lord Antonio's death, his widow Maria apparently tried to secure the Athenian duchy for herself and her Greek kinsman Chalcocondylas, father of the historian Laonicus. Maria sent Chalcocondylas, well supplied with funds, to the Ottoman court to try to persuade sultan Murad II to recognize their authority over Athens and Thebes. But the Florentine party lured Maria from the security of the Acropolis, where they installed the late Antonio's young cousin and adopted heir Nerio II as duke, driving the Chalcocondylae and their supporters from the citadel and the city. Chalcocondylas failed in his Turkish mission, which was attended by rather exciting adventures, and Nerio II married the enterprising Maria, with whom (a Venetian document suggests) he settled down "in peace and concord."¹⁶⁷ After three or four years on the Acropolis (1435–1439?), however, Nerio II was displaced by his younger and more energetic brother Antonio II (1439?–1441).¹⁶⁸ After the latter's death, Nerio returned to Athens and to his ducal authority. The intervening two or three years he had spent in Florence,¹⁶⁹ the only Florentine ruler of Athens to see his native city again. Nerio reoccupied for about a decade the little palace built into the Propylaea, but the Athenian duchy was now being buffeted from the south by the

165. Buchon, II, *Florence*: doc. LXI, pp. 281–282; John is unknown to Eubel, I, 482.

166. Buchon, II, *Florence*: doc. LVIII, p. 279: "Mio, tu non vedesti mai el più belo paese che questo ne la più bela forteza."

167. Sathas, III, doc. 1020, pp. 427–428, dated September 5, 1435. The sources provide different accounts of what took place in Athens: Chalcocondylas, VI (*CSHB*, pp. 320–322; ed. Darkó, II-1, 93–94); Sphrantzes, *Chronicon minus* (*PG*, CLVI, 1044); and the Pseudo-Sphrantzes ("Phrantzes," probably not to be trusted), *Annales*, II, 10 (*CSHB*, pp. 158–160). According to the Pseudo-Sphrantzes, the dowager duchess was called Maria, and was a member of the family of the Melissení, but neither Sphrantzes himself nor Chalcocondylas gives her name. Cf. Hopf, in Ersch and Gruber, LXXXVI (repr., II), 91; Gregorovius (trans. Lampros), *Athens*, II, 334–336; Miller, *Latins in the Levant*, pp. 404–406; D. G. Kampouroglous, *The Chalkokondylai* [in Greek] (Athens, 1926), pp. 93–99; and Zakythinos, *Le Despotat grec de Morée*, I, 212; but all these accounts are vitiated by their authors' reliance upon "Phrantzes," a later sixteenth-century forgery by Macarius Melissenus.

168. Chalcocondylas, *Historia*, VI (*CSHB*, p. 322; ed. Darkó, II-1, 94). Cf. Hopf, in Ersch and Gruber, LXXXVI (repr., II), 113; Gregorovius (trans. Lampros), II, 336; Buchon, I, 185; Ubaldini, *op. cit.* (1588), p. 177.

169. Nerio II was still in Athens on August 6, 1437 (Buchon, II, *Florence*: doc. LXXI, p. 297), and he was still in Florence on February 24 and March 5, 1441 (*ibid.*, docs. LXXII, LXXIII, pp. 298, 299). Cf. Chalcocondylas, *loc. cit.*, p. 322.

Greek despot of Mistra, Constantine Palaeologus, and from the north by the Turkish commander Turakhan Beg and sultan Murad II. He paid tribute to the Turk, to the Greek, and to the Turk again.¹⁷⁰

The medieval history of Greece was drawing to a close. On October 31, 1448, the tired emperor John VIII died and left the city of Constantinople to his brother, the despot of Mistra, who was proclaimed emperor as Constantine XI on the following January 6.¹⁷¹ Murad II died about two years later (on February 5, 1451), and the young Mehmed II the Conqueror succeeded him. Nerio II died in the same year, and left his ducal lordship to his little son Francis and to his second wife, the duchess Clara Zorzi (Giorgio), the daughter of Nicholas II Zorzi of Carystus, the titular marquis of Bodonitsa. Clara fell in love with one Bartholomew Contarini, who had come to Athens on business; Bartholomew's father, named Priam, had been the Venetian castellan of Nauplia.¹⁷² Bartholomew found Greece attractive and Clara more so; to live with her in Athens he murdered his wife in Venice. Sultan Mehmed II intervened at the behest of the Athenians and the retainers of the Acciajuoli, who may have feared for the little Francis. Contarini was summoned, together with the boy, to the Ottoman court at Adrianople, where he found Franco Acciajuoli, son of the late duke Antonio II, who after his father's death had become a Turkish hostage. Franco now became the last duke of Athens, but only for a brief while (1455–1456). When he was alleged to have murdered the wayward Clara, her indignant lover Bartholomew remonstrated with the sultan, at whose command Omar Pasha, son of the old warrior Turakhan Beg, occupied the lower city of Athens. Franco held out for a while on the Acropolis. Omar offered him "the land of Boeotia and the city of Thebes," but Athens, which the sultan had given to Franco, he was now taking away from him: Franco might withdraw to Thebes, and take all his possessions from the castle on the Acropolis.¹⁷³ The

170. Cf. Chalcocondylas, *Historia*, VI (CSHB, pp. 319 ff.; ed. Darkó, II-1, 91 ff.); *Chronicon breve*, ad ann. 6952 (1444), appended to Ducas's *Historia byzantina* (CSHB, p. 519); Gregorovius (trans. Lampros), *Athens*, II, 372–374; Miller, *Latins in the Levant*, pp. 409 ff.

171. Cf. Sphrantzes, *Chronicon minus* (PG, CLVI, 1052B), and Pseudo-Sphrantzes, *Anales*, III, 1 (CSHB, p. 205); Zakythinos, *Le Despotat grec de Morée*, I, 240.

172. Chalcocondylas, *Historia*, IX (CSHB, p. 453; ed. Darkó, II-2 [1927], 211–212); Hopf, in Ersch and Gruber, LXXXVI (repr., II), 128; cf. J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, II (Pest, 1828; repr. Graz, 1963), 38.

173. Chalcocondylas, *Historia*, IX (CSHB, pp. 454–455; ed. Darkó, II-2, 212–213); Gregorovius (trans. Lampros), *Athens*, II, 384–388; Miller, *Latins in the Levant*, pp. 437–438. Chalcocondylas, *loc. cit.*, says that Omar Pasha besieged the Acropolis "for a long time."

Turks took Athens over on June 4, 1456,¹⁷⁴ thus bringing to a close two and a half centuries of Latin domination.

Almost four years after the Turkish occupation of Athens, Franco Acciajuoli wrote duke Francis Sforza of Milan "... that while in years gone by I was ruling the city of Athens and other lands adjoining it, as my father [Antonio II] and my uncle [Nerio II] and the founders of my house had done through the course of a hundred years and more, the sultan of the Turks [Mehmed II], moved by the wiles of jealous men and having heard of the extraordinary strength of my castle and city of Athens, decided to see it. And as soon as he had seen how impregnable it was—and that he had its equal nowhere in his dominions—he conceived a very great love for it: hence he required me to be straightway removed from possession of it and to abandon my house to him, and he gave me another city by the name of Thebes, over which my fathers had formerly ruled, although they had lost control of the city when beset by the power of the present sultan's father [Murad II]."¹⁷⁵ Here is no mention of duchess Clara, and

174. Wm. Miller, "The Turkish Capture of Athens," *Essays on the Latin Orient* (Cambridge, 1921; repr. Amsterdam, 1964), pp. 160–161, and *Latins in the Levant*, p. 437. Cf. *Chronicon breve*, ad ann. 6964 (1456), appended to Ducas's *Historia byzantina* (CSHB, p. 520); *Historia patriarchica*, ad ann. 6964 (CSHB, pp. 124–125); Sphrantzes, *Chronicon minus* (PG, CLVI, 1065A); and the Pseudo-Sphrantzes, *Annales*, IV, 14 (CSHB, p. 385). On October 12–13, 1456, the colonial government of Negroponte wrote the Venetian senate of various offers of towns and castles being made to the republic (Mouchli, Damala, Lygourio, Phanari), "et de oblatione contestabilis Athenarum et aliquorum civium deinde pro castro Athenarum" (Senatus Secreta, Reg. 20, fol. 105^r, entry dated November 12, 1456), to which the senate returned a cautious and noncommittal answer. This text seems to suggest that the Acropolis was still in Christian hands as of October 1456, but the author of this chapter knows of no documentary source to justify the statement of Hopf, in Ersch and Gruber, LXXXVI (repr., II), 128b, that the Turks did not secure the Acropolis until 1458, in which assumption he is still being followed, as by Hans Pfeffermann, *Die Zusammenarbeit der Renaissancepäpste mit den Türken* (Berne, 1946), pp. 3, 10–11, and John N. Travlos, *Πολεοδομική εξέλιξις τῶν Ἀθηνῶν* (Athens, 1960), p. 173. Travlos's book is very valuable on the architectural development of the city of Athens, but contains some unfortunate errors in dates.

175. Lampros, *Eggrapha*, part VI, doc. 2, p. 408; also published in *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*, I (1904), 216–218. Franco's statement that as soon as sultan Mehmed II saw the "castle and city of Athens" he wanted them, may seem to support the assumption that the Turks took the Acropolis in 1458 (see the preceding note) since it was after the Turkish campaign in the Morea in the spring and summer of that year that Mehmed paid his famous visit to Athens. By this time, however, Omar Pasha had already taken the citadel. Perhaps Mehmed "saw" Athens on his way south in the spring of 1458, but Franco's letter is too vague to form a basis for precise chronology. A petition presented to the Florentine signoria on October 26, 1458, on behalf of Nerozzo Pitti and his wife Laudamia, who had been married in Athens about thirty-five years before and had continued to live there, contained their request to sell a house in Florence; they needed money, having lost everything "quod . . . de mense Junii anni MCCCCLVI prout fuit voluntas Dei accidit quod ipsa civitas Athenarum fuit capta a Theucris . . ." (Miller, *Essays*, pp. 160–161, referred to above). Obviously the Turks took

Franco has added a generation to his family's possession of Athens.

Franco's tenure of the lordship of Thebes was short-lived. He lived in daily peril, for the Turks apparently believed that he or his followers still entertained the hope of repossessing the Acropolis. After the Turkish campaign of 1460 which had effected the final destruction of the Byzantine despotate in the Morea, Franco was ordered to assist in a campaign against Leonard III Tocco of Leucas and Cephalonia.¹⁷⁶ He was well aware that his rule over Attica lay in the past, and that even his future in Boeotia could not last long. On February 10, 1460, Franco wrote Francis Sforza the letter to which reference has just been made. He offered to serve Sforza for a proper stipend, to expend 10,000 ducats of his own in the establishment of a condotta, and to betake himself immediately to his excellency in Milan.¹⁷⁷ But he remained in Greece through the summer of 1460, witnessing the downfall of the despots Thomas and Demetrius Palaeologus and participating in the Turkish harassment of the Tocchi, after which sultan Mehmed II sent the unfortunate Franco into the encampment of Zagan Pasha, now governor of the Morea. At the sultan's command Zagan Pasha put Franco to death,¹⁷⁸ and thus the rule of the Acciajuoli in Thebes, as well as in Athens, came to its tragic end.

As the sun was setting on Levantine Christendom and the Turkish shadow lengthened, Venice had to give a good deal of attention to the affairs of the petty princelings of the Aegean, where the Catalans were always conspicuous throughout much of the fifteenth century.¹⁷⁹ Sometime before 1399 the Catalan Alioto I (Aliot) de Caupena had acquired the island of Aegina as well as the coveted

Athens in June 1456, but we do not know how long thereafter the defenders of the Acropolis held out.

176. Almost twenty years later, in the late summer of 1479, Leonard III was to flee for his life before a Turkish armada which sailed from Avlona to his island base at Leucas (Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Senatus Secreta, Reg. 29, fols. 34^v–35^r [44^v–45^r]). He sought refuge in Naples.

177. Lampros, *Eggrapha*, part VI, doc. 2, pp. 407–409. (Wm. Miller, *Latins in the Levant*, p. 456, seems to have misread this document.)

178. Chalcocondylas, *Historia*, IX (CSHB, pp. 483–484; ed. Darkó, II-2, 237); Ubaldini, *op. cit.* (1588), pp. 178–179; Theodore Spandugino, *Trattato della casa d'Ottomano*, in Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes*, pp. 329, 331–332; Cornelio Magni, *Relazione della città d' Athene* [from a letter written from Athens December 15, 1674] (Parma, 1688), pp. 20–21; Gregorovius (trans. Lampros), *Athens*, II, 402–403; Miller, *Latins in the Levant*, pp. 456–457; cf. N. Iorga, *Histoire de la vie byzantine* (Bucharest, 1934), III, 291, note 2. Of the murder of Franco Acciajuoli, Akdes Nimet, *Die türkische Prosopographie bei Laonikos Chalkokandyles* (diss. Hamburg, 1933), p. 44, observes: "Dieses Ereignis wird nur von Laonikos überliefert. Eine Kontrolle ist hier nicht möglich."

179. Setton, *Catalan Domination*, pp. 212 ff.

head of St. George, which he had apparently received from Bertranet Mota, who had held Livadia a half dozen years before.¹⁸⁰ The Caupenas also possessed the stronghold of Piada on the mainland just northwest of Epidaurus. Fearing the Greeks, the Albanians, and especially the Turks, the Caupenas—Alioto II and his son Antonello together with his brother Arnau—turned to Venice for protection, and in March 1425 the senate accepted them as “friends” of the republic. The Caupenas also proposed that if their house should die out, Aegina, Piada, and their other holdings should pass into Venetian hands.¹⁸¹ One of the Caupenas married an adopted daughter of duke Antonio I Acciajuoli of Athens, who objected to the terms under which Venice had taken the family under her wing.¹⁸² The Caupenas, however, got along very badly with one another, especially after the death of Alioto II in 1440, and through the years their disputes ended up for adjudication in the Venetian senate, the records of litigation constituting the sparse history of Catalan Aegina.¹⁸³ Finally, in 1451 Antonello, the last lord of Aegina, bequeathed the island to Venice, disregarding the claims of his uncle and the latter’s son.¹⁸⁴ On August 22, 1451, Louis Morosini was appointed governor of Aegina, the first of more than thirty sons of the republic to hold the post until the Turkish seizure of the island in 1537.¹⁸⁵

The Caupena lordship of Aegina was a strange last remnant of the crusade which had brought the Latins into Greece. They had almost ceased to be Catalans, and the Venetians had accepted them, but the republic looked with hostile eyes upon Catalan merchants as well as corsairs,¹⁸⁶ and not without reason. About the time sultan Mehmed

180. *Dipl.*, docs. DCXXXVII–DCXXXIX, pp. 666–668, dated April 13, 1393, and docs. DCLIII–DCLV, pp. 680–683, dated December 21, 1399.

181. Sathas, III, doc. 858, pp. 281–282; Iorga, in *Revue de l’Orient latin*, V, 191.

182. Sathas, I, doc. 116, pp. 178–179, dated November 6, 1425, the text of which suggests that Antonio’s daughter had married Alioto II, but she had presumably married the latter’s bastard son and successor in the lordship of Aegina (cf. Chalcocondylas, IV [*CSHB*, p. 215; ed. Darkó, I, 202], and Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Mar, Reg. 1, fol. 12^r, dated January 17, 1441).

183. Mar, Reg. 1, fols. 86, 225^v–226^r, and Reg. 2, fol. 86^v, dated from 1442 to 1445.

184. Mar, Reg. 4, fol. 80^v, dated August 2, 1451, by which time Antonello had been dead for at least two or three months; his uncle Arnau and cousin Alioto III continued to press their claims to Aegina before the senate, which rejected them (*loc. cit.*, and Mar, Reg. 7, fol. 21^r, dated June 12, 1461). The genealogical table of the Caupenas in Hopf’s *Chroniques gréco-romanes*, p. 475, requires some rectification as to the first members of the family to become lords of Aegina, and the senate itself got the family relationships confused in the text of June 1461, where we find Antonello’s uncle Arnau being identified as his brother.

185. Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes*, p. 376.

186. Mar, Reg. 3, fol. 161^v, dated February 10, 1450: “. . . Cathellani hostes nostri . . .” On September 28, 1450, the senate complained to the grand master of Rhodes that the

II was taking over the Morea, the inhabitants of Monemvasia accepted the rule of a Catalan pirate, Lupo de Bertagna, who seems to have been plying his dangerous trade for some years in Greek waters.¹⁸⁷ The Monemvasiotes soon expelled Lupo, however, and sent an embassy to pope Pius II, asking him to take over their seaboard stronghold, which he did to prevent its falling into Turkish hands.¹⁸⁸ But the anxious Monemvasiotes were apparently no more content with the rule of the pope than with that of the pirate, and so they accepted the sway of Venice in the forlorn hope that the republic could protect them from the Turks.¹⁸⁹ Moreover, as the Venetians were engaged in the occupation of the castle town of Monemvasia, the senate answered point by point a petition of the fugitive despot Thomas Palaeologus, whose family had sought safety in the Venetian-held island of Corfu. Thomas was trying to keep a foot in the castle gate, so to speak, and wanted various assurances concerning the physical safety and trading rights of his erstwhile subjects in Monemvasia. Indeed Thomas was especially anxious that the Monemvasiotes should be protected against the return of the Catalan pirate Lupo de Bertagna.¹⁹⁰ Thus the decade which began

preceding March a Venetian merchantman with a cargo worth 15,000 ducats had been seized by two ships from Barcelona and sold with all its cargo at Rhodes to Rhodians and Genoese (*ibid.*, Mar, Reg. 4, fol. 6^v). Constant vigilance was required against Catalan enterprise in the Levant (*ibid.*, fols. 10^v–11^r, 11^v–12^r, 13).

187. Cf. Mar, Reg. 1, fol. 122^v, dated September 14, 1452: "Quia quidam Luppus Cathellanus, qui se nutrit cum quadam sua fusta in aquis Nigropontis, intulit maximum damnum quibusdam nostris civibus auferendo de quadam griparia pannos multos non pauci valoris, mandetur . . . capitaneo [culphi] quod si in hac via sua reperiret eundo vel redeundo illum Luppum procurare debeat recuperandi ab eo mercationes nostrorum . . ."

188. Pius II, *Commentarii*, IV, ed. Frankfurt, 1614, pp. 103–104; Magno, *Estratti*, in Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes*, pp. 203–204; Raynaldus, *Annales ecclesiastici*, ad ann. 1460, nos. 56–59, vol. XIX (1693), pp. 54–56.

On February 27, 1461, Pius II confirmed all the privileges the Monemvasiotes had previously possessed, and appointed Gentile de' Marcolfi their governor (Arch. Segr. Vaticano, Miscellanea, Arm. IX, tom. 15 [Collett. per Città, Terre, e Luoghi: Lett. M e N], fols. 150^r–155^v). On July 10 (1461) the pope appointed a Portuguese soldier, Lope de Valdaro, as "captain of the city of Monemvasia" (Reg. Vat. 516, fol. 32^r), and eleven days later, on July 21, he replaced Marcolfi as governor with Francis of St. Anatolia, abbot of the monastery of St. Nicholas of Auxerre (Reg. Vat. 516, fols. 37^v–39^r). Cf. N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, II (Gotha, 1909), 94–95, and Miller, *Latins in the Levant*, p. 448.

189. Magno, *Estratti*, in Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes*, p. 204. According to Raynaldus, *Annales ecclesiastici*, ad ann. 1462, no. 35, vol. XIX (1693), p. 120, Monemvasia was occupied by the Turks between the period of papal and that of Venetian domination: "...at dissipata sunt ea consilia [i.e., the failure of the pope's plan to exploit Monemvasia as a beachhead for sending 10,000 German troops into the Morea] in Turcicam iterum missa Monobassia servitutem, quam deinde recuperatam a Venetis, iterumque a Turcis, quibus hactenus paret expugnatam . . ."

190. Senatus Secreta, Reg. 21, fols. 103^r–104^r, dated August 12, 1462: "...et maxime da Lupo expresse scl volcsse navegar ale nostre contradc per danizar . . ." (fol.

with the noble family of the Caupenas still ruling in Aegina closed with the redoubtable Lupo's almost gaining Monemvasia, the strongest fortress in all Greece.

The later fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries had marked a Hellenic upsurge, an increased ethnic awareness fostered by the Orthodox church and led by the archontic families, who filled the vacuum left by the Catalans' departure, for Florentine settlement was never comparable, despite Antonio I's efforts to attract Italians to Athens and Thebes.¹⁹¹ Meanwhile, Albanians had worked their way south throughout the fourteenth century, and by its end were an important segment of the population; like the Turks, they appeared originally as mercenaries, then as invaders, and finally as settlers, primarily in Epirus and Thessaly. The impact of the Albanians exceeded that of either the Catalans or the Florentines, and rivaled that of the Turks, whose four centuries of rule erased the effects of their Latin predecessors' regimes, but not their memory. This brief but colorful chapter in Catalan history inspired a lasting sense of achievement in the conquistadors' countrymen, reflected in their literature and in the sometimes partisan but often admirable works of their historians.

The Catalans had ruled in Attica and Boeotia for three quarters of a century, and on the island of Aegina for more than half a century thereafter. The chief monuments they have left behind them are documents in the archives of Barcelona, Venice, Palermo, and the Vatican. These monuments have proved more lasting than bronze, and from them the bizarre history of Catalan domination in Athens and Thebes has in the last few generations finally been written.

103^v). In the exchange of petition and response, the despot Thomas represents the Monemvasiotes as his subjects (as they had been) and the senate regards Monemvasia as a Venetian responsibility (as it was becoming). Monemvasia, or "Malvasia," was of course the source of the French *malvoisie* and the English "malmsey."

191. The learned monograph of D. G. Kampouroglous, *The Chalkokondylai* [in Greek] (Athens, 1926), makes clear that the fortunes of the Chalcocondylas family, for example, were founded shortly after the Catalan era in Athens.

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